THE
Iriſh Rebellion:
OR, AN George Carr
HISTORY
Of the Beginnings and firſt Progreſs of the General Rebellion raiſed within the Kingdom of IRELAND, upon the three & twentieth day of *October*, in the Year 1641...

TOGETHER

With the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Maſſacres which enſued thereupon.

By Sr. JOHN TEMPLE Kt.
Maſter of the *Rolles*, and one of his Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Council within the Kingdom of IRELAND.

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Elizabeth Thompson

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

I Have here adventured to preſent unto publick view, the beginnings and firſt progreſs of the Rebellion lately raiſed within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. And although I cannot but take notice of ſuch a multitude of imperfections in my ſelf, as render me very unfit for the performance of this ſervice: As alſo, that I ſhall thereby raiſe up much malice, and private diſpleaſure, as well againſt my perſon, as my undertakings herein: Yet ſuch is my zeal and moſt earneſt deſire to appear in this cauſe, as being now laid aſide, and for the preſent diſabled in any other way to be further uſeful to this unhappy Kingdom, I reſolved to deny my ſelf, and wholly departing from my own intereſts, to imploy my weak endeavours, in ſetting down the ſad ſtory of our miſeries. I might peradventure with much more advantage to my own particular have looked back (as far wiſer men have done in their troubles) and paſſed my time in foreign

collections, or penning some story of times long since past, where the chief Actors are at rest, and their unquiet spirits so surely laid, as they are not to be moved with the shapest charge that can be laid on their memories: *Nulli gravis est percussus Achilles.* Most men are great lovers of themselves, and such constant admirers of their own actions, as they think they do well to be angry at any thing that shall (though never so truly) be reported to their disadvantage. They consider not their own natural imbecillities, their passions, destempers, or ill affections which lead them on to advise or act things of an ill fame; but are ready to fly in the faces of those who shall even in the fairest characters represent or leave any impressions of them. Hence it is that the truth of things comes quite to be overshadowed with false colours, and so to remain as it were buried alive, or otherways to appear extreamly disfigured through gross errours, base flattery, or wilful mistakes. For most men that are present adventurers in this kind, are wise enough to apprehend their own danger; and thereupon departing from the common interest that every other man hath in their story, reflect only upon their own particular, and suffer themselves to be over-awed with the humour of the present times; or so far transported, either with the benefits or private injuries received from particular persons, as they transmit very imperfect and weaker relations, or otherwise fill them up with such counterfeit stuff, as posterity will owe little to their information.

Monsieur du Plessis, a person of extraordinary abilities and learning, a great Minister of State under that glorious King *Henry* the 4th. of *France*, undertook as it appears by a Letter of his to *Monsieur Languet*, to write a Story of those times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever suffered that work to come to the Press; whether by just apprehensions discouraged from publication, or whether it otherwise miscarried, I cannot say. But sure I am, in the same Letter he bitterly declaims against the humour of the times, and there plainly tells

tells us, that after one hath writ an History, he dares not adventure the publishing of it. *Si non qu'il allege pour cause d'un effect ce que n'a pas este, comme une cause genereuse, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau.* Such was then the iniquity of those times, so abominable and shameful, the true causes of the imbroilments in that Kingdom, that those wars (as the Court was then governed) had for the most part their first beginnings from some ill placed affection, or a private quarrel in an infamous place. And further speaking on this subject, he intimates how dangerous it is to set forth the actions of men in their true colours; and how bitter and corroding to the conscience of an Historian to disguise or make them appear otherwise to the world, then they were in their first original. *Memoires de Monsieur du Plessis, fol. 45.*

To speak truth exactly is highly commendable in any man, especially in one that takes upon him to be a publick informer: to raze, to corrupt a Record is a crime of a very high nature, and by the laws of the Land most severely punishable. Histories are called *Testes temporum*, *lux veritatis*, *vita memoriæ*: and certainly he doth offend in an high degree, who shall either negligently suffer, or wilfully procure them to bring false evidence; that shall make them dark Lanthorns to give light but on the one side, or as *Ignes fatui*, to cause the Reader to wander from the truth, and vainly to follow false shadows, or the factious humour of the writers brain. To be false, to deceive, to ly, even in ordinary discourse, are vices commonly branded with much infamy, and held in great detestation by all good men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a height of impudency, as magisterially to take upon them, not only to abuse the present, but future ages, must needs render themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other mens errours, and whereas in all other notorious offenders, their sin and their life determines at farthest together: the sin of these men is perpetuated after their decease, they speak when they are dead, make false infusions into every Age, and Cicero *de Orat.*

court every new perſon that ſhall many years after caſt his eyes upon their ſtory to give belief to their lyes. Therefore for my own part when I firſt undertook this task, I took up with it a reſolution moſt clearly to declare the truth. I have caſt up my accounts, I have ſet up my reſt, and determine rather to diſpleaſe any other man then offend my own conſcience. I have neither private reflections, nor foreign ends; I am now as it were reduced into my firſt principles, and have taken this work upon me, meerly out of publick conſiderations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this preſent age, as well as of poſterity, ſome certain Records and Monuments of the firſt beginnings and fatal progreſs of this Rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties moſt unmercifully exerciſed by the *Iriſh* Rebels upon the *Britiſh*, and Proteſtants within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. That when Gods time is come of returning it into the boſoms of thoſe who have been the firſt plotters or preſent Actors therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with *Britiſh*, and ſetled in peace again, (which I have even in our loweſt condition, with great confidence attended, and do now moſt undoubtedly believe will ere long be brought to paſs) there may be ſuch a courſe taken, ſuch proviſions made, and ſuch a wall of ſeparation ſet up betwixt the *Iriſh* and the *Britiſh*, as it ſhall not be in their power to riſe up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to deſtroy and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, or to gather together to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt their bloody attempts.

I ſhall not pretend to entertain the Reader with political Maxims, grave Sentences, or flouriſhing Orations: That which I hope will cover over a multitude of imperfections, is the unqueſtionable truth of what I ſhall ſet down in a plain and brief narration of all the cauſes and proceedings held in the raiſing, as alſo in the firſt Counſels and undertakings for the ſuppreſſion of this hideous Rebellion.

And

And that I might in ſome meaſure compaſs my deſign herein, and give ſatisfaction even to the moſt curious inquiſitors after truth, I did with great care and diligence turn over the very Originals or authentical Copies of the voluminous examinations remaining with the publick Regiſter, and taken upon oath, by virtue of two ſeveral Commiſſions iſſued out under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, to examine the loſſes of the *Britiſh*, the cruelties and horrid murders committed by the *Iriſh* in the deſtruction of them. I have peruſed the publick diſpatches, acts, and relations, as likewiſe the private Letters and particular diſcourſes ſent by the chief Gentlemen out of ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, to preſent unto the Lords Juſtices and Council the ſad condition of their affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the moſt ſecret Paſſages and Counſels of the State, I have, as far as I could, without breach of truſt, and as the duty of a Privy Councellour would admit, communicated ſo much of them as I conceived neceſſary and proper for publick information. And ſetting aſide the particulars contained within the firſt Pages, leading on by way of introduction to the inſuing troubles, which I have taken up on truſt out of the moſt approved Authors both ancient and modern, who have written the ſtory of *Ireland*, I may confidently avow, that I have been ſo curious in gathering up my materials, and ſo careful in putting them together, as very few paſſages will be found here inſerted which have not either fallen within the compaſs of my own knowledge, or that I have not received from thoſe who were chiefly intruſted in matter of action abroad; or that came not to my hands atteſted under the oaths of credible witneſſes, or clearly aſſerted in the voluntary confeſſions of the Rebels themſelves.

Every man I believe will eaſily aſſent unto me, that out of theſe Fountains we may preſume with moſt certainty to draw truth, and that if we bound our inquiries within this circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true knowledge of

of the main particularpaſſages of this late Rebellion. And therefore though I ſhall not obtrude every thing as infallible, which by a ſtrict and moſt ſevere inquiſition I have taken upon the grounds before mentioned (conſidering how ſubject men are through forgetfulneſs and humane imbecillity to err in the ordinary courſe of their relations) yet thus much I ſuppoſe I may confidently ſay, that no man could imagine how to make collections with greater certainty, and more clear unqueſtionable probabilities of truth then I have here ſet down.

Now as for the examinations here mentioned, howſoever they were taken with all the care and circumſpection that could poſſibly be uſed in ſo great a work, yet are they moſt commonly decried, and held by the *Iriſh* as very injurious to their Country-men. Thus much I ſhall be bold to aver and ſhall here ſpeak it for the better authority and credit of the evidence brought in by them.

Firſt, That as the Commiſſions for taking thoſe examinations were after mature deliberation iſſued out by ſpecial order from the Lords Juſtices and Council; ſo they were in great wiſdom deſigned by them for no other ends then to have ſome general account of the loſſes ſuffered by the *Britiſh*, and the cruelties exerciſed by the *Iriſh* upon them in the ſeverall parts of the Kingdom. And this courſe was firſt ſet on foot in the very height of our troubles, when the fury of the Rebels ſo deſperately raged, as they were in no condition to think of the attainting of their perſons, and therefore onely aimed at the diſcovery of their treaſon. Out of which reſpect chiefly the Commiſſioners made choice of for the performance of this ſervice, were ſix of the Clergy, all perſons of known integrity; and ſuch as by reaſon of their profeſſion, wouldin all probability gently proceed on in their inquiſitions, and truly ſet down the bloody Relations given in unto them. The perſons examined were of ſeveral conditions, moſt ofthem *Britiſh*, ſome of *Iriſh* birth and extraction

traction, very many of good quality, and such as were of inferiour rank were not rejected if they were known sufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could speak of their own knowledge. Few came but such as had been in the hands of the Rebels, and could with sorrowful hearts make the sad relation of their own miseries. And so they having been eye-witnesses, their depositions are for the most part out of their own knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-say, they for the most part depose, that they received it out of the Rebels own mouths while they were in restraint among them. Lastly, many of these miserable persons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almost famished; or so worn out with their sufferings, as they did not long outlive the date of their examinations: So as these testimonies being delivered in their last agonies, we are in charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due circumstances, a clear attestation of such cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their last breath.

But it is not much to be wondered, if they who had it in design to destroy all the publick Records and ancient Monuments in the Kingdom, to banish both the English Law and Government, do so bitterly declaim against these evidences of their cruelty, and lively attestations given in to perpetuate the memory of them to their eternal infamy.

Mr. Creighton *in his Examination deposeth, That he heard many bitter words cast out against the City of* Dublin, *That they would burn and ruine it, destroy all Records, and Monuments of the English government; Make Laws against speak-English, and that all names given by English to places, should be abolished, and the ancient names restored*

If they could imagine which way to silence, or by what means to blast the credit of these examinations thus solemnly taken, and prevail according to their most impetuous desires upon the late Treaty of Peace, to have all the indictments legally put in against the principal Rebels

bels and their adherents, taken off the file and cancelled, they would not be out of hope, as these times now are to palliate their Rebellion with such specious pretences, as that their barbarous cruelties, acted beyond all parallel being forgotten, it should with great applause pass down to posterity, under the name of a holy and just war for the defence of the Catholick Cause.

And now in order to this design, they have taken all occasions to proclaim the huge pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late government in *this* Kingdom, and spare not to term it tyrannical: they speak as if their oppressions might be parallel'd with the Israelitish envassalage in the Land of *Ægypt*, and their persecutions for Religion equalled to those of the Primitive times. And then they further say, *That thereupon only some Catholicks, considering the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, and apprehending the plots laid to extinguish their Religion and Nation, did take armes in the North in maintenance of their Religion, and for the preservation of life, liberty, and estate; together with his Majesties rights. And that the Lords and Gentlemen dwelling within the English Pale, were likewise by the great rigour and severity used by the State towards them, enforced to take up armes for their own defence.*

A Remonstrance of grievances presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Catholicks of *Ireland*, and given in to his Majesties Commissioners at *Trime*, March 17. 1642.

These are the expressions and the language used in the late Remonstrance given in to his Majesties Commissioners at *Trime*, to be presented to his Majesty in behalf of his Catholick Subjects in *Ireland*. Wherein there are pieced together so many vain inconsiderable fancies, many subsequent passages acted in the prosecution of the war, and such bold, notorious, false assertions, without any the least ground or colour of truth: as without all doubt they absolutely resolved, first, to raise this Rebellion, and then to set their Lawyers and Clergy on work, to frame such reasons and motives as might with

with ſome colour of juſtification ſerve for arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to ſpeak plainly, a moſt infamous Pamphlet, full fraught with ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon the preſent government, and his Majeſties principal Officers of State within this Kingdom. It was certainly framed with moſt virulent intentions, not to preſent their condition and preſent ſufferings to his Majeſty, but that it might be diſperſed to gain belief among foraign States abroad, as well as diſcontented perſons at home; and ſo draw aſſiſtance and aid, to foment and ſtrengthen their rebellious party in *Ireland*.

But I do not much wonder they ſhould take thus upon them to abuſe the world with ſuch ſcurrilous diſcourſes, and thereby endeavour to raiſe ſome ground or belief that they had juſt cauſe to enter into ſo deſperate a Rebellion. This hath been an ordinary courſe ever held in all deſigns of this nature. And it is well obſerved by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found in all ſuch great undertakings, *cauſæ ſuaſoriæ*, and *cauſæ juſtificæ*. The firſt, ſuch as are the true natural cauſes and really firſt in the intention; the other, ſuch as are moſt commonly obtruded to the world by way of cover and juſtification. Now as the nature of water is moſt clearly ſeen in the firſt Fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any droſs or ſoil that it afterwards contracts, as it paſſeth along in the ſtreams derived from it: So certainly the quality of all humane actions is beſt underſtood, and moſt clearly diſcerned, when we look upon them as they appear in their firſt original, before the inconveniencies and fatal miſcarriages which afterwards come to be diſcovered, awake the firſt Projectors, and teach them new artifices wherewith tho diſguiſe and colour over their abortive, or otherwiſe unfortunate counſels. Now as for the true Suaſorian cauſes (if I may ſo term them) which induced the Iriſh to lay the plot of this Rebellion, and were indeed really firſt in their thoughts, they will ſufficiently appear in this enſuing Story.

And for the juſtifical reaſons of their riſing in armes, if any one hath a mind to take them up on truſt from themſelves, let him ſeek no further than the Remonſtrance before mentioned; whereof much more is to be ſaid than I ſhall give my ſelf liberty to ſpeak in this place: well knowing that thoſe notorious untruths and wicked impoſtures contained in it when they come to the *teſt* will be quickly diſcovered, and the varniſh they have put upon them ſoon fall away of it ſelf.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and deſires to be rectified in his own judgement, let him be pleaſed to turn over this enſuing Story,

Verum eſt index ſui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their falſe and virulent ſuggeſtions, than a true impartial relation of the firſt beginnings and progreſs of this Rebellion: which for what was acted within the ſpace of the firſt two months after the breaking out of it, I preſume I may ſay without vanity, he ſhall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applyed my ſelf to give an account of what was done about *Dublin*, the chief City of this Kingdom, and the place where the Lords Juſtices and Council continued uſing their utmoſt power and endeavours to oppoſe the fury of the Rebels. Yet as all other parts of the Kingdom were under their government, and their care and counſels (as far as their general diſtractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other places of the Countrey, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miſerable condition of them to be repreſented in this following Story.

I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with any further Apology for my ſelf, or with excuſes for the multitude of my own imperfections, which will here appear in large Characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a Multiplying

plying Glaſs by thoſe who are not pleaſed with what I have here expoſed to publick view. I do not at all pretend to ſilence the bitter expreſſions of malevolent ſpirits: As I ſhall with great patience compoſe my ſelf to bear the utmoſt that their malice can put upon me: So I ſhall be always ready with much meekneſs to ſubmit to be reformed by any perſon whatſoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through ignorance or negligence (for I am ſure wilful miſtakes they will find none) miſcarried in the relation of any particular here ſet down: Sins of ignorance found a very eaſie expiation under the Old Law, I will not ſay they had a pardon of courſe. But if I have ſo carried my ſelf, as that no greater tranſgreſſions can be laid to my charge, I ſhall be much ſatisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a continuation of this Story, and therein to tranſmit down to poſterity the noble atchievements and great Victories already obtained by ſmall numbers of the *English* forces over huge multitudes of theſe *Irish* Rebels.

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The Iriſh Rebellion:

OR,

An Hiſtory of the beginnings, and firſt progreſs of the general Rebellion raiſed within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the Year 1641.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almoſt five hundred years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was preſently after the firſt conqueſt of it, planted with *Engliſh* Colonies, long ſince worn out, or for the moſt part become *Iriſh*. And therefore it hath again in this laſt Age been ſupplied with great numbers of people drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to ſettle their habitations in that Country. Now the moſt execrable plot laid by the *Iriſh*, for the univerſal extirpation of all theſe *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants*, the bloody progreſs of their Rebellion within the compaſs of the firſt two months; their horrid cruelties, in moſt barbarouſly murdering, or otherwiſe deſtroying many thouſands of men, women and children, peaceably ſetled, and ſecurely intermixed among them, and that without any provocation, or conſiderable reſiſtance at firſt made, I intend ſhall be the preſent ſubject of the firſt Part of this enſuing Story.

The original of the *Iriſh*.

The *Iriſh* want not many fabulous inventions to magnify the very firſt beginnings of their Nation. Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or ſome other more Eaſtern Nation that anciently inhabited *Spain*, came and ſate down firſt in *Ireland*, I ſhall not much trouble my ſelf here to enquire. If we ſhould give credit to the Iriſh Chronicles, or their Bards

(who deliver no certain truths) we might find ſtuff enough for an ancient pedegree, made up out of a moſt various ſtrange compoſure of the Irish Nation. But to let them paſs, there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and cuſtoms, ſuch affinity of ſeveral of their words and names, and ſo great reſemblance of many long uſed rites, and ſtill retained ceremonies as do give us ſome ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their firſt original from ſome of thoſe people. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible Records I find none) that as the Eaſtern parts of *Ireland*, bordering upon *England* were firſt planted by the old Britains: * *Toole*, *Birne*, & *Cauvenagh* the ancient Septs, and ſtill inhabitants of that part of the Country, being old *British* words. And as the Nothern parts of *Ireland* were firſt inhabited by the *Scythians*, from whom it was called ** *Scytenland*, or *Scotland:* So the Southern and more Weſtern parts thereof were peopled from the Maritime parts of *Spain*, being the next continent, not by the now Spanish Nation, who are ſtrangely compounded of a different admixture of ſeveral people: But as I ſaid, peradventure by the *Gaules*, who anciently inhabited all the Sea-coaſts of *Spain*, the *Syrians*, or ſome other of thoſe more Eaſtern Nations, who intermixing with the natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a tranſmigration into *Ireland*, and ſo ſetled ſome Colonies there.

* *Toole* of the old Brittain word *Toll*, a hill-country. *Birne*, of *Brin*, woods. *Cauvenagh* of *Cauve* ſtrong. The view of *Ireland* by *Spencer.f.* 33.

** *Ireland* is often called *Scotia major* among ancient writers.

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty principalities.

The whole Kingdom of *Ireland* was divided into divers petty principalities, and of later times there were five principal Chieftains, *viz.* *Mac-Morough* of *Lemſter*, *Mac-Cartye* of *Munſter*, *O Neal* of *Ulſter*, *O Connor of Conaght*, & *O Malaghlin* of *Meath*. For ſuch were the *Irish* denominations, and I do not find they were called Kings till about the time of the coming over of the *Engliſh*, *Giraldus Cambrenſis* who came into *Ireland* in the time of *Hen.* 2. of *England*, being the *firſt writer* that gives them that Title. Beſides, as they came not in either by hereditary right or lawful Election, ſo their Inveſtiture was ſolemnized neither by Unction, or Coronation, they made their way by the Sword, had certain kinds of barbarous ceremonies uſed at their Inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people moſt monſtrouſly enſlaved to all the ſavage cuſtomes practiſed under their dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of *Hen.* 2. King of *England* in whoſe time the undertakings for the Conqueſt of *Ireland* were ſucceſsfully made by moſt powerful, though private adventurers upon this occaſion.

Iſti reges non fuerunt ordinati ſolemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis ſacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis ſucceſſione, ſed vi & armis quilibet regnum ſuum obtinuit.

The black book of Chriſtchurch in *Dublin*, it is an ancient Manuſcript kept there.

Dermott Mac-Morough, King of *Lemſter* (being by the Kings of *Conaght* & *Meath* enforced to flie his country) made his repair directly to *Hen.* 2. King of *England*, then perſonally attending his Wars in *France*, and with much earneſtneſs implored his aid for the recovery of his territories in *Ireland*, moſt injuriouſly, as he pretended, wreſted out of

The firſt enterpriſe of the *Engliſh* upon *Ireland* made by private adventurers.

of his hands. The King refuſed to imbarque himſelf in this quarrel: yet graciouſly recommended the juſtice of his cauſe to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents aſſured them that whoſoever would afford the ſaid *Mac-Morough* aſſiſtance towards his reſettlement, should not onely have free liberty to tranſport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable ſervice therein. Hereupon Earle *Strangebow* firſt engaging himſelf, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his reſtitution with the utmoſt forces he could raiſe, he lying then very conveniently at *Briſtol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his paſſage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a tranſaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Lemſter* unto the Earl, upon his marriage with his onely daughter *Eva*. And ſo he being deſirous to return ſpeedily into his own Country, paſſed to St. *Davids* in *South Wales*, from whence is the ſhorteſt paſſage out of *England* into *Ireland*, and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this ſervice: Theſe, by their power among their Country-men in thoſe parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, tranſported them in three ſhips into *Ireland*, landing at the *Banne*, a little Creek near *Featherd* in the county of *Wexford*, and there joyning with ſome Forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morough*, made their firſt attempt upon the town of *Wexford*, they were gallantly ſeconded by Earl *Strangebow*, who followed preſently after with no very conſiderable forces: and yet by the power of their arms, within a very ſhort time prevailed ſo far in the Country, as they made themſelves maſters thereof, and ſo gained the poſſeſſion of all the maritime parts of *Lemſter*.

Se noſtram ad hoc tam gratum moverit quam licentiam obtinuit. Gir. Cambren. expugnat. Hib. c 1.

Cambr. cap. 3.

King *Henry* upon the news of their proſperous ſucceſs in the ſudden reducement of ſo large a territory by ſuch inconſiderable forces as they carried with them; deſirous to ſhare with his ſubjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of ſo great an action, undertook an expedition in his own perſon into *Ireland* the year following. And ſo ſtrange an influence had the very preſence of this great Prince into the minds of the rude ſavage Natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained ſubmiſſions moſt humbly tendred unto him, he eaſily ſubdued a barbarous divided people.

K. Henry the 2. his expedition into *Ireland*. An. 1173

The firſt beginnings of the Conqueſt of this Kingdom were thus glorioufly laid by this King, in the year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land it ſelf, he found it good and flouriſhing with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of proviſion, the Soil rich and fertile, the Air ſweet and temperate, the Havens very ſafe and commodious, ſeveral Towns and little Villages ſcattered up and down in the ſeveral parts of the Country; but the Buildings ſo poor and contemptible, as when that King arrived at

Dublin their chief City, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, he ſet up a long houſe made of ſmoothed wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Chriſtmas. All their Forts, Caſtles, ſtately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the *English*, except ſome of their maritime towns which were built by the *Oſtmanni* or *Eaſterlings* who anciently came and inhabited in *Ireland*.

Reg. Hoveden calls it *Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis lexigatis ad modum patriæ illius conſtructum.* fol. 528.

Moreover, I ſe found likewiſe by ſeveral mounments of piety, and other remarkable teſtimonies, that Chriſtian Religion had been long ſince introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the Land. It is not certainly without ſome good grounds affirmed by ancient writers, That in the Fourth age after the incarnation of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, ſome holy and learned men came over out of Foreign parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious deſire to propogate the bleſſed Goſpel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, and beſides ſeveral others *Patricius* the famous *Iriſh* Saint, (A *Britain* born at a place now called *Kirck-Patrick* near *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*, then the utmoſt boundary of the *Britains* dominion in thoſe parts) who out of meer devotion came and ſpent much of their time among the *Iriſh*, and out of their zealous affections for the converſion of a barbarous people, applied themſelves with great care and induſtry to the inſtructing of them in the true grounds and principles of Chriſtian Religion. And with ſo great ſucceſs, and ſuch unwearied endeavours did S. *Patrick* travail in this work, as (if we will give credit to ſome writers) we muſt believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiſcopal See, three hundred and fifty Bishops conſecrated, great numbers of Clergy-men inſtituted, who (notwithſtanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneſs of the common ſort of people) being moſt of them Monks by vow and profeſſion, of great learning, very auſtere and ſtrict in their diſcipline, were ſo much taken notice of in thoſe rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in reſpect of them ſome gave unto the Iſland the denomination of *Inſula Sanctorum*. But ſo quickly did the power of holineſs decay in the land, as the name was ſoon loſt, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very Clergy themſelves obliterated; the life of the people ſo beaſtly, their manners ſo depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the firſt thoughts of transferring his Arms over into *Ireland*, made ſuit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer *Ireland*, and reduce thoſe beaſtly men unto the way of truth: Anſwerable whereunto was the tenor of Pope *Adrians* Bull, as appears at large in *Pariſienſis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and ſubdue the *Iriſh* Nation. A ſufficient demonſtration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by their holy Father the Pope, as other Princes. And the King at his arrival

Chriſtian Religion ſet-led in *Ireland*.

By Sedulius, Palladius, Patricius, in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour.

Rex Anglorum Henr. nuncios ſolennes Romam mittens regavit Papam Adrianum ut ſibi literet Hiberniæ Inſulam intrare, & terram ſubjugare atque homines illos beſtiales ad fidem, & viam reducere veritatis. Mat. Par. a. An. 1156.

arrival found them no other then a beaſtly people indeed. For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no ſetled laws, living like beaſts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, cuſtoms, or reaſonable conſtitutions either for regulation of Property, or againſt open force and violence, moſt notorious murthers, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbariſm, raging without controul or due courſe of punishment. Whereupon, He, without any manner of ſcruple, or farther inquiſition into particular titles, reſolving as it ſeems to make good by the ſword the Popes donation, made a general ſeizure of all the lands of the whole Kingdom, and ſo without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

And that he might the more ſpeedily introduce Religion and civility, and ſo draw on towards the accomplishment of that great work which he had ſo glorioufly begun, he Firſt, in a great Counſel held at *Liſſemore*, cauſed the Laws of *England* to be received and ſetled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards united it to the Imperial Crown of *England*, making large diſtributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole Land of *Ireland* among the *Engliſh* Commanders, who made eſtates, and gave ſeveral shares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them. But before I paſs further, I shall take the liberty here to inſert one obſervation out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* concerning the cauſes and reaſons of the proſperity of the *Engliſh* undertakings in *Ireland*. He ſaith that a Synod, or Counſel of the Clergy, being there aſſembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimouſly agreed by them all, that the ſins of the people were the occaſion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that eſpecially their buying of *Engliſh* men from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a moſt miſerable hard bondage, had cauſed the Lord by way of juſt retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *Engliſh* to the ſame ſlavery. Whereupon they made a publique act in that Counſil, that all the *Engliſh* held in captivity throughout the whole Land, ſhould be preſently reſtored to their former liberty. If ſo heavy a Judgement fell then upon the *Iriſh* for their hard uſage of ſome few *Engliſh*, what are they now to expect? or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effuſion of ſo much innocent *Engliſh* blood, after ſo horrid, deſpiteful and execrable a manner? There being ſince the Rebellion firſt brake out, unto the time of the Ceſſation made *Sept.* 15. 1643. which was not full two years after, above 300000. *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* cruelly murthered in cold blood, deſtroyed ſome otherway, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the ſtricteſt conjecture and computation, of thoſe who ſeemed beſt to underſtand the numbers

Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liſmore, ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus gratenter ſunt acceptæ & juratoria cautione præſtita confirmatæ. Mat. Paris. An. 1172.

Ireland divided by K. *Hen.* 2. among his followers, and other adventurers.

Decretum eſt itaque prædicto concilio, & communi conſilio publice Statutum: ut Angli ubique per inſulam ſervitutis vinculo mancipati in priſtinam revocentur libertatem. Gir. Camb. expug. Hib. cap. 18.

The numbers of *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* deſtroyed ſince the Rebellion.

numbers of *English* planted in *Ireland*, besides those few which perished in the heat of Fight, during the war.

The fruitless expeditions of K. *John*, & K. *Richard* 2. into *Ireland*.

King *John* came into *Ireland* during his minority, though to little purpose, but after, about the twelfth year of his Reign, upon the general defection of the *Irish*, he made a Second expedition, and during his stay there, built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain unto this day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the settlement of the *English* Colonies, as also of the civil Government. King *Richard* the Second made likewise in the time of his Reign, upon the same occasion two other expeditions into *Ireland* in his own person. But both those Princes out of a desire to spare the effusion of *English* blood, as also the expence of treasure, being likewise hastned back by the distempers of their own Subjects in *England*, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the fained submissions of the *Irish*, who finding their own weakness, and utter disability to resist the power of those two mighty Monarchs; came with all humility even from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, to submit to their mercy: And yet it is well observed by some that say they returned back, not leaving one true subject more behind them, then they found at their first arrival. Howsoever by the very presence of these Princes, and by the careful endeavours of the Governours sent over by other of the Kings of *England*, those that were Adventurers in the first Conquest, and such other of the *English* Nation as came over afterwards took possession by virtue of the former grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Irish* in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and setled themselves in all the plains and fertile places of the Country, especially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coasts. And to such a height of power and greatness had some of those first Adventuring Commanders raised themselves here by reason of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited jurisdictions and priviledges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had, As that they began to look upon their own possessions as circumscribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animosities against each other, to draw in the *Irish* (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not ashamed to use their assistance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their opposites, though their own compatriots and jointenants in the possession of that good land.

The antient malice of the *Irish* to the *English*.

The *Irish* were very glad to entertain this occasion and did ever foment by their utmost power and artifice these unnatural broils and dissentions among the *English*, whom they most mortally hated: For they living in a manner

a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the portection of all the *English* Laws and Government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; And beſides thoſe Septs of *Irish* which were termed the *Quinque familiæ* (who notwithſtanding the great priviledges they enjoyed by the protection of the English Laws, ever ſhewed much averſeneſs both to the *English*, and their Laws) No other perſons of any Irish families, from the very firſt conqueſt of *Ireland* in the time of *Hen.* 2. until the reign of King *Hen.* 8. were admitted into the condition of Subjects, or received any benefit by the *English* Laws, but ſuch as purchaſed Charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And ſo they living upon the mountains in the boggs and woods, though at firſt after ſome ſort divided from the *English*, did take all occaſions to declare their malice and hatred againſt the *English colonies* planted near unto them.

Quinque familiæ. *O Neale de Ultonia.* *O Malachlin de Meth.* *O Connor de Conacia.* *O Brien de Thomondia.* *Mac-Morough de Lagnia.*

But howſoever the *English* were in all ages infeſted with their *Irish* enemies, yet were they certainly in point of intereſt and Univerſal poſſeſſion, Owners, and Proprietors of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. They kept themſelves in entire bodies almoſt for the firſt hundred years after their arrival, not ſuffering the *Irish* to live promiſcuouſly among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and ſubjection to the Crown of *England*. And when afterwards they began to be more careleſs of their habitation, and to ſuffer the *Irish* to intermingle with them, and their *English* followers to familiarize themſelves into their beaſtly manners and cuſtoms (for prevention of which miſchief, many ſevere Laws were enacted in after ages) yet for ſome time they made good the rights and poſſeſſions they had gotten by conqueſt, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the *English* Laws, language, habit, and cuſtoms long uſed among them. Now although theſe, and all other courſes were taken by them, which might reclaim ſuch as ſeemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out Charters of Denization: yet ſuch ever was, and ſtill is the rough rebellious diſpoſition of the people, their hatred ſo implacable, their malice ſo unappeaſeable to all the *English* Nation, as no Laws or gentle Conſtitutions would work, no publick benefits attemper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation; But they have in all times continued to take all advantages, as well ſince they were admitted into the condition of Subjects, as while they were eſteemed and treated as enemies, moſt perfidiouſly to riſe up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their *English* neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unſatiated ſepulchre of the *English* Nation. For what by reaſon

By the Statutes made at *Kilkenny* by *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the time of *Edw.* 3. Alliance by marriage, nurture of Infants, and goſſipred with the *Irish* a high treaſon. And if any *English* man ſhould uſe the *Irish* language, *Irish* name, or *Irish* apparel, his lands ſhould be ſeiſed on, & if he had no lands, he was to ſuffer imprisonment. *Archiv. in caſtro Dublin.* Statutes of *Kilkenny.*

reason of their own inteſtine broiles, after they had (as ſoon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the *Iriſh*) moſt barbarouſly degenerate into all their manners and cuſtoms; and what by reaſon of the cruel hatred and miſchievous attempts of the Irish upon them: We ſhall not find that the English, from their firſt acceſs into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, (a tract of time containing above 380. years) had any ſetled peace or comfortable ſubſiſtence, but were in moſt perpetual combuſtions and troubles, ſo extremely haraſſed and over-worn with miſery, as they were not long likely to ſurvive the univerſal calamity that had overſpread the face of the whole Kingdom.

In that ſpace of time which was between the 10. year of *Edw.* 2. and the 30. year of *Edw.* 3. all the old English colonies in *Munſter*, *Conaght* and *Ulſter*, and more then a Third part of *Lemſter* became degenerate, & fell away from the Crown of *England*, ſo as the English Pale remained only under the obedience of the Law.

Whereupon that bleſſed Queen, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied her ſelf with great care to redreſs the diſorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very beginning of her Reign, ſending over prudent and religious Governours, the work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholeſom Laws enacted againſt the barbarous cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*; and the execution of Juſtice (which a long time continued within the limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Conaght*, *Ulſter* and other remote parts of the Land at ſome intervals of quiet times. The *Iriſh* Countries were reduced into Shires, and Sheriffs with ſome other Miniſters of Juſtice placed in them: The pretended Captainships, and thoſe high powers uſurped by the *Iriſh*, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into ſuch a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and Poſſeſſions were ſetled in a due courſe of inheritance; thoſe moſt deſtructive cuſtoms of **Taneſtry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depreſſed; The two Preſidential Courts of *Munſter* and *Conaght* were then inſtituted, and ſpecial order taken that Free-ſchools might be erected in the ſeveral Dioceſſes throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth. But theſe acts, and other courſes tending to the advancement of true Relegion, and Civility, were highly diſpleaſing, and moſt incompatible with the looſe humours of the Natives,

The Royal endeavours of queen *Elix.* for the reducing of *Ireland*.

* The Lands belonging to the *Irish* were divided into ſeveral territories & the Inhabitants in every *Iriſh* Country were divided into ſeveral Septs or Lineages. ---------- In every *Iriſh* Country there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Taniſt, which was his ſucceſſor apparent. None could be choſen Taniſt, but one iſſued out of one of the chief Septs. ------ The Seignory and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not deſcend from Father to Son, or upon default of iſſue to him that was next of kin: But he that was moſt active, of greateſt power, and had moſt followers, always cauſed himſelf to be choſen Taniſt; and if he could not compaſs his deſires by gentle means, then he uſed open force and violence; and ſo being declared as it were heir apparent, came into poſſeſſion upon the death of the chief Lord. ------- Now for the inferior Septs, they held their lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a ſort; For after the death of every one of his Tenants which held any land under him, he aſſembled the whole Septs, and having put all their poſſeſſions together in hotch potch, made a new partition among them, not aſſigning to the Son of him that died, the land held by his Father, but altering every mans poſſeſſion at his own pleaſure, and according to his own diſcretion: he, upon the death of every inferior Tenant, made a general remove, and ſo alotted to every one of the Sept ſuch part as he thought fit. And this was the *Iriſh* Gavelkind. Sir *John Davies* Rep. *fol.* 49.

who

who apprehended even the moſt gentle means of reformation, as ſharp corroding medicines; And thereupon pretending the burthen of the *Engliſh* government moſt inſupportable, began deſperately to ſtruggle for their liberty. Several plots were laid, ſome even by thoſe who were themſelves of the old *Engliſh* by extraction: divers Rebellions and petty Revolts raiſed during Her Majeſties moſt happy reign; That of *Shan O Neal*, the Earl of *Deſmond*, Viſcount *Baltinglas*, *O Rurke*, and ſeveral others at other times, were all ſet on foot for this very end, and all timely ſuppreſſed, partly by the power of the Queens forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the Chieftains to mercy. And ſhe, as moſt unwearied with their never ceaſing provocations, ſtill went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous cuſtoms: As, ſeveral of the great Lords who had been out in Rebellion, were reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions, others ſhe ſuffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others ſhe beſtowed new titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to ſuch an exceſſive charge, as the full conqueſt of *Ireland* would moſt neceſſarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could miniſter any hopes of civilizing the people, or ſetling the preſent diſtractions of the Kingdom.

Nonnulli ex claris in Legenia familiis & plerique Anglica originis partim ex Romana religionis ſtudio, partim ex odio recentium Anglorum, conſpirare cuperant ad prorogem, cum familia opprimendum, caſtrum Dublinenſe interciendum, & Anglos in Hibernia ad unum è medio tollendos Camden. Eliz. An. 11.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not ſuſceptible of any ſuch noble forms, thoſe ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the perverſe diſpoſitions of the *Iriſh*: the malignant impreſſions of irreligion and barbariſm, tranſmitted down, whether by infuſion from their anceſtors, or natural generation, had irrefragably ſtiffned their necks, and hardned their hearts againſt all the moſt powerful endeavours of Reformation: They continued one and the ſame in all their wicked cuſtoms and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred againſt all of the *Engliſh* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruine, deſtruction, and utter extirpation.

The Iriſh not to be reclaimed by gentle means.

And that they might at once diſ-impeſter themſelves of their unpleaſing company, and disburthen the whole kingdom of them and their poſterity, they ſtill entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a deſign long meditated in their breaſts, whereby they reſolved at once clearly to reſcue and deliver themſelves from their ſubjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that deſperate Rebellion raiſed almoſt through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh* Earl of *Tyron*, who after titles of Honour, received a Command given by the Queen unto him both of Horſe and Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, and other Princely favours conferred upon him; Reſolving at once to cancel all thoſe Royal obligations of

Tyrones rebellion.

gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him moſt of all the Irish Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *English* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion againſt his moſt gracious undoubted Sovereign. And theſe all, as being univerſally actuated with the venemous infuſions of his malevolent ſpirit, uniting their whole intereſts and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raiſed all their dependants, and moved in ſeveral places according to the ſeveral orders and directions they received from him: and to fill up the full meaſure of his iniquity, he drew in a foreign Nation at the ſame time with conſiderable Forces to invade the Land.

The ill effects of the ſubmiſſions of the *Irish.*

So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dallied with, one Rebellion ſtil begot another, and this laſt was more dangerous then any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally ſpread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well diſcerned how much her great clemency had been abuſed in ſuffering former rebellions to be ſmothered over and looſely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the *Irish* upon their ſubmiſſions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, and perpetuate the miſeries of war: therefore she now reſolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorouſly to ſet to the work, and making choice of ſome of her moſt renowned English Commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the proſecution of that Arch-traitour *Tyron*, and with great ſucceſs in a short time, though not without the expence of much *English* blood, and above a million of mony, brought him upon his knees: And howſoever before this glorious work was fully accomplished, it pleaſed God to put a period to her days, yet lived she long enough to ſee juſt vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural diſturber of the peace of the Kingdom, himſelf in a manner wholly deſerted, his Country moſt miſerably waſted, and a general deſolation and famine brought in, mightily conſuming what was left undevoured by the ſword.

The miſerable condition of *Ireland* when K. *James* came to the Crown of *England.*

It is very eaſie to conjecture in what a moſt miſerable condition *Ireland* then was, the *English* Colonies being for the moſt part barbarouſly rooted out, the remainders degenerated into Irish manners and names, the very *Irish* themſelves moſt mightily waſted and deſtroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiſcontinued troubles. King *James* of bleſſed memory found it, at his firſt acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable eſtate; whereupon he preſently took into his care the peaceable ſettlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the people: And conceiving that the powerful conjunction of *England* & *Scotland* would now over-aw the *Irish*, and contain them in their due obedience, He reſolved not to take

any

any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intitled unto by *Tyron's* Rebellion; but out of his Royal bounty and Princely magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in it self, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this state the Kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his Reign: Then did the Earl of *Tyron* take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his Rebellious design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his devotion; But his plot failed, and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busy incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland* and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: But by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon alayed, and *Tyron* never returning, the peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and setled. King *James* hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those Rebellious Traitours, caused their persons to be attainted, their lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratify the well affected Natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among *British* undertakers, who came over and setled themselves and many other *British* families in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Country, great numbers of *British* inhabitants there setled, to the great comfort and security of the whole Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace of the Country, in the plantation of several pars of *Lemster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their possessions. But howsoever the King was by due course of Law justly intitled to all their whole estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was delivered over likewise into the hands of *British* undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly as they became of great security to the Country, and were a most especial means to introduce civility in those parts: so as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly buildings, and all manner of improvments, the people to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seemed to be much

His lenity towards the *Irish* rebels, and his endeavours for a civil reformation.

satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government, and general tranquility which they so happily enjoyed.

K. *Charles*, great readiness to redress the grievances presented unto him by the *Irish* Commissioners, 1640.

AND now of late such was the great indulgence of K. *Charles* our Sovereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that in the year 1640. upon their complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, by a Committee of four temporal Lords of the upper house, and twelve Members of the house of Commons, with instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, He took their grievances into his royal consideration, descended so far to their satisfaction, as that he heard them himself and made present provisions for their redress: And upon the decease of Mr. *Wandsford*, Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Depury here under the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom (though then accused of high treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) His Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny West*, and Sir *Williams Parsons* Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*, Yet soon after finding the choise of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by the Committee, he did at their motion cause the said Commission to be cancelled, and with their consent and approbation placed the government upon Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlace* Knight, Master of the Ordnance, both esteemed persons of great integrity; and the Master of the Wards, by reason of his very long continued imployment in the State, his particular knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the people. They took the sword upon the 9. of *Febr.* 1640. And in the first place they applied themselves with all manner of gentle lenitives to mollify the sharp humours raised by the rigid passages in the former government. They declared themselves against all such proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law; They gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable ease and contentment of the people, freely assenting to all such Acts as really tended to a legal reformation: They betook themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the Crown, as Popular interest, to be handled in His Majesties Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late exorbitancies (so bitterly decried in Parliament) of Paper-petitions or Bills, in Civil causes, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their authority: They, by His Majesties gracious directions, gave a way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (there given in the E. of *Straffords* time, and then in collection) from 40000. li. each Subsidy, to 12000. li. apiece, so low did they

The Lords.
L. Vicount *Gormanstone*,
L. Vicount *Kilmalock*,
L. Vicount *Costelo*,
L. Vicount *Baltinglas.*
Commons.
Lemster. *Nic. Plunket*, *Digby*, *Richard Bithgarret*, *Nic. Barnewall*, Esq;
Munster. Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Jo. Welsh.* Sir *Donough Mac-Carti.*
Conaght. *Robert Linch*, *Geffry Brown*, *Thomas Burk.*
Ulster. Sir *William Cole*, Sir *James Mongomery.*

Sir *Wil. Parsons* & Sir *John Borlace* made L. Justices.

They apply themselves to give contentment to the people.

they thinck fit to reduce them: And they were further content (becauſe they ſaw His Majeſty moſt abſolutely reſolved to give the *Irish* Agents full ſatisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be paſſed in the Parliament, moſt impetuoſly deſired by the Natives; The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unqueſtionably ſetled all eſtates of land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the ſpace of ſixty years immediately preceding; The other was for the relinquishment of the right and title which His Majeſty had to the four Counties in *Conaght*, legally found for him by ſeveral inquiſitions taken in them, and ready to be diſpoſed of, upon a due ſurvey, to *British* undertakers; as alſo to ſome territories of good extent in *Munſter*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the ſame title.

Thus was the preſent Government moſt ſweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Juſtices and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courſes, did gently unbend themſelves into a happy and juſt compliance with the ſeaſonable deſires of the people. And His Majeſty, that he might further teſtify his own ſetled reſolution for the continuation thereof with the ſame tender hand over them, having firſt given full ſatisfaction in all things to the ſaid Committee of Parliament ſtill attending their diſpatch, did about the later end of *May*, 1641. declare *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Hen. Sidney* his Grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a perſon of excellent abilities by nature, great acquiſitions from his own private induſtry and publique imployment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publique preſſures of the common-wealth, and therefore moſt likely to prove a juſt and gentle Governour, moſt pleaſing and acceptable to the people.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *May*, 1641.

Moreover, the *Romish* Catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the over great indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars general, Provincial conſiſtories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived frely, though ſomewhat covertly among them, and without control exerciſed a voluntary juriſdiction over them, they had their Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy* and other forreign parts, where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were ſent uſually to receive their educations. And theſe without any manner of reſtraint, had quietly ſetled themſelves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and

The Papiſts permitted privately to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion.

private Gentlemens houſes throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exerciſe of all their religious rites, and ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them without any manner of diſturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon tranſgreſſours in that kind.

The good agreement betwixt the *Irish* & *English* in all parts of the Kingdom.

And for the ancient animoſities and hatred which the *Irish* had been ever obſerved to bear unto the *Engliſh* Nation, they ſeemeed now to be quite depoſited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and National obligations paſſed between them. The two Nations had now lived together 40. years in peace, with great ſecurity and comfort, which had in a manner conſolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all thoſe bonds and ligatures of friendship, aliance, and conſanguinity as might make up a conſtant and perpetual Union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, goſſipred, foſtering (relations of much dearneſs among the *Irish*) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and ſervice interchangeably paſſed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual tranſmigration into each others manners, many *Engliſh* being ſtrangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and cuſtoms, and many *Irish*, eſpecially of the better ſort, having taken up the *Engliſh* language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houſes. And ſo great an advantage did they find by the *Engliſh* commerce and cohabitations in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and Native commodities, ſo incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raiſe by their own proper induſtry, as Sir *Phelim ONeal*, and many others of the prime-leaders in this rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* tenants of their lands, as ſome of them ſaid to me (when I enquired the reaſon of their ſo doing) even to ſtarve upon the mountains, while they took on *Engliſh*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the ſame. A matter that was much taken notice of, and eſteemed by many, as moſt highly conducing to the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* intereſts, and plantation among them. So as all theſe circumſtances duly weighed, together with the removal of the late obſtructions, the great increaſe of trade, and many other evident Symptoms of a flouriſhing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wiſeſt and beſt experienced in the affairs of *Ireland*, that the peace and tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully ſetled, and moſt likely in all humane probability to continue, without any conſiderable interruption, in the preſent felicity and great proſperity it now enjoyed under the government of His Majeſty that now reigneth.

The *Parliament* adjourned *Aug.* 1641.

In *Auguſt*, 1641. the Lords Juſtices and Council finding the Popiſh party in both Houſes of Parliament to be grown to ſo great a height, as was

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ſcarcely compatible with the preſent Government, were very deſirous to have an Adjournment made for three months, which was readily aſſented unto and performed by the members of both Houſes. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter end of *Auguſt*, and preſently after their return they applied themſelves to the Lords Juſtices and Council, deſiring to have all thoſe Acts and others Graces granted by His Majeſty, made known unto the people by proclamations to be ſent down into ſeveral parts of the Country; which while the Lords Juſtices took into their conſideration, and ſat daily compoſing of Acts to be paſſed the next Seſſion of Parliament, for the benefit of His Majeſty, and the good of his Subjects, they ſeemed with great contentment and ſatisfaction to retire into the Country to their ſeveral habitations, that they might there refreſh themſelves in the mean ſeaſon.

The Irish Commiſſioners return out of England, and land at Dublin.

The diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of the *Irish*, to ſeiz upon the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*; and their general Riſing at the ſame time, in all the Northern parts of this Kingdom.

SUch was now the ſtate and preſent condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſuch the great ſerenity through the gentle and happy tranſaction of the publick affairs here; As that the late *Irish* Army raiſed for the invaſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the ſingular care of the Lords Juſtices and Council brought into His Majeſties ſtores within the City of *Dublin*, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of diſorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noiſe of war remaining within theſe coaſts. Now while in this great calm the *British* continued in a moſt deep ſecurity, under the aſſurance of the bleſſed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the preſent Government, and all men ſat pleaſantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the leaſt thoughts or apprehenſion of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between His Majeſty, and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about this time fairly compoſed and ſetled: There brake out upon the 23. of *October*, 1641. a moſt deſperate and formidable Rebellion, an univerſal defection and general Revolt, wherein not only all the meer *Irish*, but almoſt all the old *English* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And becauſe it will be neceſſary to leave ſome monuments hereof to poſterity, I ſhall

The happy condition of Ireland at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, October 23. 1641.

I shall obſerve the beginnings and firſt motions, as well as trace out the progreſs, of a Rebellion ſo execrable in it ſelf, ſo odious to God and the whole world, as no age, no Kingdom, no people can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders, that have been without number, as well as without mercy committed upon the *British* inhabitants throughout the land, of what ſex or age, of what quality or condition ſoever they were.

The firſt plot for the rebellion carried on with ſo great ſecrecy, as none of the *Engliſh* had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

And firſt I muſt needs ſay, howſoever I have obſerved in the nature of the *Iriſh* ſuch a kind of dull and deep reſervedneſs, as makes them with much ſilence and ſecrecy to carry on their buſineſs: yet I cannot but conſider with great admiration how this miſchievous plot which was to be ſo generally at the ſame time, and at ſo many ſeveral places acted, and therefore neceſſarily known to ſo many ſeveral perſons, ſhould without any noiſe be brought to ſuch maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of perſons who were generally deſigned (as moſt of them did) to periſh in it. For beſides the uncertain preſumptions that Sir *William Cole* had of a commotion to be raiſed by the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter* about a fortnight before this rebellion brake openly out, and ſome certain intelligence which he received of the ſame two days before the *Iriſh* roſe, I could never hear that any *Engliſh* man received any certain notice of this conſpiracy, before the very evening that it was to be generally put in execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very firſt apprehenſions of ſomething that he conceived to be hatching among the *Iriſh*, did write a Letter to the Lords Juſtices and Council, dated the 11. of *Octob.* 1641. wherein he gave them notice of the great reſort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in the County of *Tyron*, as alſo to the houſe of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh* and that by ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, fit inſtruments for miſchief. As alſo that the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made ſeveral journies into the Pale, and other places, and had ſpent his time much in writing Letters, and ſending diſpatches abroad. Theſe Letters were received by the Lords Juſtices and Council, and they in anſwer to them required him to be very vigilant and induſtrious to find out what ſhould be the occaſion of thoſe ſeveral meetings, and ſpeedily to advertiſe them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick ſervice of the State. And for that which was reveiled to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21. of *Octob.* the ſame month by *John Gormacke*, & *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cohanaght*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the reſolution of the *Iriſh*, to ſeize upon his Majeſties Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Proteſtants there, and to ſeize upon all the Caſtles, Forts, Sea-ports, and holds that were in poſſeſſion of the

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Proteſtants within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find by the examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon oath at Weſtminſter *Nov.* 18. 1644. That the ſaid Sir *William Cole* did diſpatch Letters to the Lords Juſtices and Council the ſame day to give them notice thereof. But I can alſo teſtify that thoſe Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miſcarried, I cannot ſay) came not unto their hands, as alſo that they had not any certain notice of this general conſpiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22. of *Octob.* in the very evening before the day appointed for the ſurpriz of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conſpirators being many of them arrived within the City, and having that day met at the Lion Tavern near Copper Alley, and there turning the Drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy ſucceſs of the next mornings work: *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true Proteſtant religion, came unto the Lord Juſtice *Parſons* about nine of the clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conſpiracy for the ſeizing upon His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*: He gave him the names of ſome of the chief conſpirators, aſſured him they were come up expreſly to the Town for the ſame purpoſe, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and ſurely effect it, if their deſign were not ſpeedily prevented, and that he had underſtood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief conſpirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very ſame afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking ſomewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make ſuch a broken relation of a matter that ſeemed ſo incredible in it ſelf, as that his Lordship gave very little belief to it at firſt, in regard it came from an obſcure perſon, and one as he conceived ſomewhat diſtempered at that time. But howſoever the Lord *Parſons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumſtances as he could, ſtraitly charging him to return back unto him the ſame evening. And in the mean time, having by ſtrict commands given to the Conſtable of the Caſtle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as alſo with the Major and Sheriffs of the City to have ſtrong watches ſet upon all the parts of the ſame, and to make ſtay of all ſtrangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the Lord *Borlace's* houſe without the Town, and there acquainting him with what he underſtood from *Conally*, they ſent for ſuch of the Council as they knew then to be in the Town. But there came onely unto them that night, Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with theſe they fell into conſultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of *Conally*. And finding that he ſtaid ſomewhat longer

Owen O Conally diſcovers the conſpiracy of the *Irish* to the Lord *Parſons* the very evening before it was to be executed.

then the time prefixed, they ſent out in ſearch after him, and found him ſeized on by the watch, and ſo he had been carried away to priſon, and the diſcovery that night diſappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parſons* Servants expreſly ſent amongſt others to walk the ſtreets, and attend the motion of the ſaid *Conally*, come in and reſcued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* houſe. *Conally* having ſomewhat recovered himſelf from his diſtemper, occaſioned partly, as he ſaid himſelf, by the horrour of the plot reveiled to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more eaſily get away from him (he beginning much to ſuſpect and fear his diſcovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added theſe farther particulars ſet down in his Examination, as followeth.

The Examination of *Owen O Conally* Gentleman, taken before us whoſe names enſue, *Octob.* 22. 1641.

WHo being duly ſworn, and examined, ſaith, That he being at Monimore, *in the County of* London-Derry *on* Tueſday *laſt, he received a Letter from Colonel* Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, *deſiring him to come to* Conaght *in the County of* Monaghan, *and to be with him on* Wedneſday *or* Thurſday *laſt, whereupon he, this Examinate came to* Conaght *on* Wedneſday *night laſt, and finding the ſaid* Hugh *come to* Dublin, *followed him hither: He came hither about ſix of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the ſaid* Hugh, *to the houſe near the Boat in* Oxman *Town, and there he found the ſaid* Hugh, *and came with the ſaid* Hugh *into the Town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the ſaid* Hugh *his lodging. He ſaith, that at the Lord* Mac-Guire *his lodging, the ſaid* Hugh *told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the* Iriſh *Papiſts from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himſelf had determined to take the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and poſſeſs themſelves of all His Majeſties Ammunition there to morrow morning, being* Saturday, *and that they intended firſt to batter the*

the Chimnies of the ſaid Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the houſes, and ſo to cut off all the Proteſtants that would not joyn with them. He further ſaith, that the ſaid Hugh *then told him, that the* Iriſh *had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to deſtroy all the* Engliſh *inhabiting there to morrow morning by ten of the clock, & that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Proteſtants ſhould be killed this night, and that all the Poſts that could be, could not prevent it: And further ſaith, that he moved the ſaid* Hugh *to forbear executing of that buſineſs, and to diſcover it to the State, for the ſaving of his own eſtate, who ſaid he could not help it. But ſaid, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government was over them, and to imitate* Scotland, *who got a priviledge by that courſe. And he further ſaith, that when he was with the ſaid* Hugh *in his lodging the ſecond time, the ſaid* Hugh *ſwore that he ſhould not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he ſhould go with him the next morning to the Caſtle, and ſaid, if this matter were diſcovered, ſome body ſhould die for it, whereupon this Examinate feigned ſome neceſſity for his eaſement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his ſword in pawn, and the ſaid* Hugh *ſent his man down with him, and when this Examinate came down into the Yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this Examinate leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and ſo came to the Lord Juſtice* Parſons.

Octob. 22. 1641.

William Parſons.
Tho. Rotheram.
Rob. Meredith.

Owen O Conally.

HEreupon the Lords took preſent order to have a Watch privately ſet upon the lodging of *Mac-Mahon*, as alſo upon the L. *Mac-Guire*, and ſo they ſate up all that night in conſultation, having far ſtronger preſumptions upon this latter examination taken, then any ways at firſt they could

could entertain. The Lords Juſtices upon a further conſideration (there being come unto them early next morning ſeveral other of the Privy Council) ſent before day, and ſeized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own lodging; they at firſt made ſome little reſiſtance with their drawn ſwords, but finding themſelves over-maſtered, preſently yielded, and ſo they were brought before the Lords Juſtices and Council ſtill ſitting at the Lord *Borlace*'s houſe: where upon examination he did without much difficulty confeſs the Plot reſolutely, telling them, That on that very day all the Forts and ſtrong places in *Ireland* would be taken, That he with the L. *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Capt. *Brian O Neal*, and ſeveral other *Irish* Gentlemen, were come up expreſly to ſurpriz the Caſtle of *Dublin*; That twenty men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them, That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were Papiſts were engaged in this Plot, That what was that day to be done in other parts of the Country, was ſo far advanced by that time, as it was impoſſible for the wit of man to prevent it; and withall told them, That it was true, they had him in their power, and might uſe him how they pleaſed, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged.

H's confeſſion.

By this time the noiſe of this Conſpiracy began to be confuſedly ſpread abroad about the Town, and advertiſement was brought unto the Lords Juſtices then in Council, that great numbers of ſtrangers had been obſerved to come the laſt evening, and in the morning early unto the Town, and moſt of them to ſet up their horſes in the ſuburbs: whereupon the Lords having in the firſt place taken order for the apprehenſion of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themſelves for their better ſecurity unto the Caſtle, where the body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the firſt place they cauſed a preſent ſearch to be made for all ſuch horſes belonging to ſtrangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they diſcovered ſome of the owners, who were preſently ſeized upon and committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the cuſtody of the Conſtable there the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*; *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moor*, chief of the conſpirators, eſcaped over the River in the night, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with ſeveral others found means likewiſe to paſs away undiſcerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of ſeveral Counties to be Actors in taking of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the ſlack purſuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty ſeized upon, moſt of them Servants and inconſiderable perſons, thoſe of quality having ſo many good friends within the Town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The ſame day before the Lords roſe from Council, they took order for this Proclamation which here followeth to be made and published.

The Lord *Mac-Guire* with ſeveral other of the Conſpirators ſeiſed no.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. *John Borlace.*

THeſe are to make known and publish to all His Majeſties good Subjects in this Kingdom of *Ireland*, that there is a diſcovery made by Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended by ſome evil-affected *Irish* Papiſts, againſt the lives of Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many other of His Majeſties faithful Subjects, univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, His Majeſties principal Fort here, but alſo of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom: And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majeſty, and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpirators Committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, by Us, by His Majeſties Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof, We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Majeſties good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and cheerfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render

the more ſafety to themſelves, and all the Kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe Us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurrents, which may concern the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always shown for the publick ſervices of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And We require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for forrein ſervice, nor any men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch pretence. Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, 23. *Octob.* 1641.

R. Dillon Ro. Digby. Ad. Loftus. I. Temple. Tho. Rotheram. Fr. Willoughby. Ja. Ware. Ro. Meredith.

God ſave the King.

¶ Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society Of STATIONERS.

This

THis Proclamation was presently Printed, and several Copies sent downby expres messengers unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in several parts of the Country, where they caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely discovery of this conspiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove so great a discouragment to such of the conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their duty and obedience to His Majesty. The same night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his Wife and his Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan*: Next day came advertisement from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the taking of the *Newry*; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the Province of *Ulster*, began to multiply, and several persons every day and almost every hour in every day for a good while after, arrived like *Jobs* messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor *English* in those parts from whence they came. These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the *English* and other inhabitants well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the *Irish* already crept into the Town, joyning with the Papists there, should make the City a Theater whereon to act the second part of that Tragedy most bloodily begun in the Northern parts by them.

The *Irish* rise first in the Province of *Ulster*, and there burn, spoil, and destroy the *English*.

And it added most extremely to these present fears, that several unhappy rumours (the great tormentors of the weaker sex) were vainly spread abroad of the suddain approach of great numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Irish* Counties unto the City: Some would make us believe that they were discerned at some distance already marching down from the mountain side within view of the Town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the State up to the platform of the Castle to behold those who were yet invisible, though there were there that would not be perswaded but that they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains. It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10000. of the Rebels gottten together in a body at the Hill of *Tarah*, a place not above sixteen miles distant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to march on and presently surpriz the same. These false rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panick fear among them, as about seven of the clock at night, the Lords Justices and some of the Council being then in the

False rumours spread of the Rebels approach to the City of *Dublin*.

the Council chamber within the Caſtle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good quality, who having not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Caſtle, cauſed the Warders then attending to draw up the bridge, aſſuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a good part of the Town, and came now with great fury marching down the ſtreet that leads directly towards the Caſtle Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that day made Governour of the Caſtle, cauſed the draw-bridge to be let down, and ſo found this to be a falſe Alarm occaſioned by ſome miſtake fallen among the people, who continued waving up and down the ſtreets, prepoſſeſſed with ſtrange fears, and ſome of them upon ſome ſlender accident drawing their ſwords, others that knew not the cauſe thought fit to follow the example, and ſo came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their company, as ſo many Rebels coming up to enter the Caſtle.

The Lords Juſtices and Council conſult what courſe to take for the ſuppreſſing this Rebellion.

Theſe were the firſt beginnings of our ſorrows, ill ſymptomes, and ſad preparatives to the enſuing evils: Therefore the Lords finding by ſeveral intelligences, though ſome purpoſely framed, that the power of the Rebels was ſuddenly ſwollen up to ſo great a bulk, and likely ſo faſt to multiply and increaſe upon them, thought it high time to conſider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppoſe, ſince they could not prevent ſo imminent a danger. The Rebellion now appeared without all manner of queſtion to be generally raiſed in all parts of the North, and like a torrent to come down moſt impetuouſly upon them: beſides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the Kingdom would take fire and follow their example, they had the teſtimony of *Mac-Mahon* poſitive therein. The firſt thing therefore which they took into conſideration, was, how they were provided of Mony, Arms, and Munition; Then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe of the old Army they were able to draw preſently together, as alſo what numbers of new men they could ſuddenly raiſe. For the firſt, they had this ſhort accompt from the Vice-treaſurer, That there was no mony in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy in the firſt contrivers of this Rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at ſuch a time when the Exchequer ſhould be empty, and all the Kings Revenues both certain and caſual, due for that half year, as well as the Rents of all the *Britiſh* throughout the Kingdom, ſhould be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors hands in the Country, and ſo neceſſarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently well furniſhed at this time: Beſides ſeveral Pieces of

No mony in the Exchequer.

Artillery

Artillery of divers sorts, most of them fitted for present service, there were Arms for near 10000 men, 1500 barrels of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the Earl of *Strafford* late L. Lieutenant, not long before, and designed another way, but so opportunely reserved for this service, as the good providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous preservation of them out of the hands of the Rebels, who made the surprizal of these provisions, then all within the Castle of *Dublin* (the common store-house of them) a main part of their design. The old standing Army, as appears by this List, consisted only of 41 Companies of Foot, and 14 Troops of Horse.

A List of His Majesties Army in *Ireland*, 1641. Before the Rebellion began.

Foot-Companies consisting of six Officers, *viz.* Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chirurgion, Serjeant and Drum, and fourty four Souldiers each Company.

LORD Lieutenants Guard	44	Cap. *Thomas Rockly*	44
Sir *Robert Farrar*	44	Sir *Arthur Tyringham*	44
Sir *Thomas wharton*	44	Cap. *Philip Wenman*	44
Sir *George Saint-George*	44	Cap. *Charles Price*	44
Cap. *Francis Butler*	44	Sir *Charles Coot*	44
Sir *Will Saint-Leger*	44	Cap. *Thomas Games*	44
Lord *Docwra*	44	Sir *Francis Willoughby*	44
Lord *Blany*	44	Sir *John Borlace*	44
Sir *Robert Steward*	44	Cap. *Robert Baily*	44
Lord Viscount *Rannelagh*	44	Sir *Arthur Loftus*	44
Lord Viscount *Baltinglas*	44	Cap *Will. Billingsly*	44
Sir *John Vaughan*	44	The Lord *Esmond*	44
Cap. *George Blount*	44	The Lord *Lambert*	44
Sir *Hen. Tichbourn*	44	Sir *George Hamilton*	44
Sir *Frederick Hamilton*	44	Lord *Folliot*	44
Lord *Castle-stewart*	44	Sir *Will. Stewart*	44
Sir *Lorenzo Cary*	44	Cap. *Robert Biron*	44
Cap. *Chicheſter Forteſcue*	44	Sir *John Sherlock*	44
Sir *John Gifford*	44	The Earl of *Clanricard*	44
Cap. *John Barry*	44	Cap. *John Ogle*	44
Sir *John Nettervile*	44		

These Companies contain Officers 246 } In all } 2297.
Souldiers 2051 }

Hors-Troops.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop conſiſting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Hors-men —— —— 108
The Earl of *Ormonds* Troop, like Officers, and Hors-men —— 107
The Earl of *Straffords* Troop, like Officers and Hors-men —— 58
Lord *Dillons* Troop, like Officers and Hors-men —— —— —— 58
Lord *Wilmots* Troop, like Officers and Hors-men —— —— 58
Sir *Will. Saint-Leger*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, the like —— 58
Lord Viſcount *Moor*, the like —— 58
Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, the like 58
Lord Viſcount *Cromwel* of *Lecale*, the like —— —— —— 58
Cap. *Arthur Chiceſter*, the like —— 58
Sir *George Wentworth*, the like —— 58
Sir *John Borlace*, the like —— 58
Lord Viſcount *Conway*, the like — 58
Sir *Adam Loftus*, the like —— 58

Theſe Troops contain Officers —— 42 } In all } 943
Hors-men —— —— —— —— 901 }

Theſe were ſo ſtrangely diſperſed moſt of them into the remote parts of the Kingdom, for the guard of ſeveral Forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner moſt impoſſible to draw a conſiderable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the City, or the making head againſt the Rebels in the North: and beſides it was much to be ſuſpected, the companies lying ſeverally ſo remote, and ill furniſhed with munition, could with little ſafety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords ſent Potents preſently away to require ſeveral Companies of Foot, and ſome Troops of Hors preſently to riſe and march up from their ſeveral Garriſons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an accompt unto His Majeſty, then at *Edenburgh* in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing ſtill at *London* (the Parliament ſtill ſitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill condition of the Kingdom, the wants of the State, and the Supplies abſolutely neceſſary for their preſent defence and preſervation. And becauſe the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth moſt clearly repreſent ſeveral particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affairs, I have thought fit to inſert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

Letters from the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

May

May it pleaſe your Lordship,

ON Friday *the two and twentieth of this month, after nine of the clock at night, this bearer* Owen Conally, *ſervant to Sir* John Klotworthy *Knight, came to me the Lord Juſtice* Parſons *to my houſe, and in great ſecrecy (as indeed the cauſe did require) diſcovered unto me a moſt wicked and damnable conſpiracy, plotted, contrived, & intended to be alſo acted by ſome evil-affected* Irish *Papiſts here. The plot was on the then next morning,* Saturday *the* 23 *of* October, *being St.* Ignatius *day, about nine of the clock to ſurpriz His Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin, *His Majeſties chief ſtrength of this Kingdom, wherein alſo is the principal Magazine of his Majeſties Arms and Munition, and it was agreed it ſeems amongſt them, that at the ſame hour all other His Majeſties Forts and Magazines of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, ſhould be ſurprized by others of thoſe Conſpirators, and further, that all the Proteſtants and* English *throughout the whole* Kingdom, *that would not join with them, ſhould be cut off, and ſo thoſe Papiſts ſhould then become poſſeſſed of the Government and Kingdom at the ſame inſtant.*

Aſſoon as I had that intelligence, I then immediatly repaired to the Lord Juſtice Borlace, *and thereupon We inſtantly aſſembled the Council, and having ſate all that night, as alſo all the next day, the* 23 *of* October, *in regard of the ſhort time left us for the conſultation of ſo great and weighty a matter, although it was not poſſible for us upon ſo few hours warning to prevent thoſe other great miſchiefs which were to be acted, even at that ſame hour, and at ſo great a diſtance as in all the other parts of the Kingdom. Yet ſuch was our induſtry therein, having cauſed the Caſtle to be that night ſtrengthned with armed men, and the City guarded, as the wicked Counſels of thoſe evil perſons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, ſo as they were not able to Act that part of their Treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendred the reſt of their purpoſes the more eaſy.*

Having ſo ſecured the Caſtle, We forthwith laid about for the apprehenſion of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of them having come to this City but that night, intending it ſeems the next morning to act their parts in thoſe treacherous and bloody crimes.

The firſt man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon *Eſquire (Grandſon to the Traitour* Tyron) *a Gentleman of a good fortune in the County of* Monaghan, *who with others, was taken that morning in* Dublin, *having at the time of their apprehenſion offered a little reſiſtance with their ſwords drawn, but finding thoſe We imployed againſt them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at firſt denyed all, but in the end, when he ſaw we laid it home to him, he confeſſed enough to deſtroy himſelf, and impeach ſome others, as by a Copy of his Examination herewith ſent, may appear*

to your Lordship, We then committed him until We might have further time to examine him again, our time being become more needful to be imployed in Action for securing this place, then in examining. This Mac-Mahon *had been abroad, and served the K. of* Spain *as a Lieutenant Colonel.*

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a Letter We received the week before from Sir William Cole, *a Copy whereof We send your Lordship here inclosed, We gathered that the Lord* Mac Guire *was to be an actor in surprizing the Castle of* Dublin, *wherefore We held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His Lordship observing what we had done, and the City in Arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it seems disguised, for we had laid a watch about his lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.*

There were found at his lodging hidden some Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and some Hammers.

In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we imployed in strict search of his Lordship, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obscure house far from his lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before Us.

He denyed all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confessed that he had not advertised Us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But We were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all circumstances, as We doubted not upon further examination when We could be able to spare time for it to find it apparent: wherefore We held it of absolute necessity to commit him Close-prisoner, as We had formerly done Mac-Mahon, *and others: where We left him on the three and twentieth of this month in the morning, about the same hour they intended to have been Masters of that place, and this City.*

That morning also We laid wait for all those strangers that came the night before to Town, and so many were apprehended whom We find reason to believe to have hands in this Conspiracy, as We were forced to disperse them into several Gaols: and We since found that there came many Hors-men in to the Suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

When the hour approached, which was designed for surprizing the Castle, great numbers of strangers were observed to come to Town in great parties several ways; who not finding admittance at the Gaets, staid in the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terrour of the Inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up instantly and signed a Proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the City or Suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it alike penal to those that should harbour them; which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by Our commandment: which being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men, and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes: and in this case, all our lives

lives and fortunes, and above all, His Majesties power and regal authority being still at the stake, We must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as We see cause, but also in putting some to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Treason, and all the contrivers thereof, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

On that 23. *day of this month, We conceiving that as soon as it should be known that the plot for seizing* Dublin *Castle was disappointed, all the Conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartned, as on the other side the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence stand on their guard; did prepare to send abroad to all parts of the Kingdom this Proclamation which we send you here inclosed: and so having provided that the City and Castle should be so guarded as upon the sudden We could promise, We concluded that long continued consultation.*

On Saturday at 12. *of the clock at night the Lord* Blany *came to Town and brought Us the ill news of the Rebels seizing with two hundred men his house at* Castle Blany *in the County of* Monaghan, *and his Wife, Children, and Servants, as also a house of the Earl of* Essex *called* Carrickmacross *with two hundred men, and a house of Sir* Henry Spotswood *in the same County, with two hundred men, where there being a little Plantation of* British, *they plundred the Town and burnt divers houses, and it since appears that they burnt divers other Villages; and robbed and spoiled many* English, *and none but Protestants; leaving the* English *Papists untouched as well as the* Irish.

On Sunday morning at three of the clock We had intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, *that the* Irish *in the Town had that day also broken up the Kings store of arms and munition at the* Newry, *where the store of arms hath lien ever since the peace, and where they found fourscore and ten barrels of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir* Con. Magennis *Knight, and one* Creely *a Monk, and plundred the* English *there and disarmed the Garrison. And this, though too much, is all that We yet hear is done by them.*

However We shall stand on our guard the best We may to defend the Castle and City principally, those being the pieces of most importance. But if the Conspiracy be so Universal as Mac-Mahon *saith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have conspired in it, which We admire should so fall out in this time of Universal peace, and carried with that secrecy that none of the* English *could have any friend amongst them to disclose it, then indeed We shall be in high extremity, and the Kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of men, mony, and arms, to enable Us to encounter so great multitudes as they can make, if all should joyn against Us, the rather, because We have pregnant cause to doubt that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of Jesuites, Priests and Fryers.*

All the hope We have here, is, the old English *of the* Pale, *and some other parts, will continue constant to the King in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions.*

And now in these straits, We must under God depend on aid forth of England *for our present supply with all speed, especially mony, We having none, and arms which we shall exceedingly want; without which, We are very doubtful what account We shall give to the King of his Kingdom.*

But if the Conspiracy be onely of Mac-Guire *and some other* Irish *of the kindred and friends of the Rebel* Tiron *and other* Irish *in the Counties of* Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh & Armagh, *and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable measure if We be enabled with mony from thence, without which We can raise no forces, so great is our want of mony as we have formerly written, and our debt so great to the Army: nor is mony to be borrowed here, and if it were, we would engage all our estates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his Majesties rents and subsidies in these disturbances, which add extreamly to our necessities.*

On Sunday *morning* 24. *We met again in Council, and sent to all parts of the Kingdom the enclosed Proclamation, and issued Patents to draw hither seven Hors-troops as a farther strength to this place, and to be with us in case the Rebels shall make head and march hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them battel. We also then sent away our Letters to the President of both the Provinces of* Munster & Conaght: *And we likewise then sent Letters to the Sheriffs of the five Counties of the Pale to consult of the best way and means of their own preservation. That day the Lord Vice Com.* Gormanston, *the Lord Vice Co.* Nettervile, *the Lord Vice Co.* Fitz Williams, *and the Lord of* Houth, *and since the Earles of* Kildare, *and* Fingal, *and the Lords of* Dunsany *and* Slane, *all Noblemen of the English Pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and professed Loyalty to his Majesty, and concurrence with the State, but said they wanted Arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by Us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulness to the Crown: but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the City and Castle; yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger with a small proportion of Arms and Munition for their houses, lest they should conceive we apprehended any jealousy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us, which they readily promised to do.*

And if it fall out that the Irish generally rise, which we have cause to suspect, then we must of necessity put Arms into the hands of the English Pale in present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for defence of the State and themselves.

Your Lordship now sees the condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is first that we enjoy your presence speedily for the better guiding of those and other the publick affairs of the King and Kingdom. And secondly, that the Parliament there be moved immediately to advance to us a good sum of mony, which being

being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the expence of very much treasure & blood in a long continued war. And if your Lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time; we must then desire your Lordship to appoint a Lieutenant General to discharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the forces here.

Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon Us, We bethought Us of the Parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand, which will draw such a concourse of people hither and give opportunity under that pretence, assembling and taking new Councils, seing the former seems to be in some part disappointed, and of contriving further danger to this State and People: We have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be adjourned to the first of Hillary *Term, excepting onely the Court of* Exchequer *for hastning in the Kings mony if it be possible. We desire upon this occasion your Lordship will be pleased to view our Letters concerning the plantation of* Conaght, *dated the* 24 *of* April *last, directed to Mr. Secretary* Vane *in that part thereof, which concerns the County of* Monaghan, *where now these fires do first break out.*

In the last place we must make known to your Lordship, that the Army we have, consisting but of 2000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horse, are so dispersed in Garrisons in several parts, as continually they have been since they were so reduced, as if they be all sent for to be drawn together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn, (and for whose safety they lie there) must be by absence distressed; but also the Companies themselves coming in so small numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their march; nor indeed have we any mony to pay the Souldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave and remain from his Majesties Castle of* Dubin 25 *of* October, 1641.

Your Lordships to be commanded

William Parsons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton. *Cam.* R. Dillon, Anthony Midensis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THe said Owen Conally, *who reveiled the Conspiracy is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he hath so extreamly to his own danger expressed in this business; whereby under God there is yet hope left us of deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those Conspirators. And therefore we beseech your Lordship that it be taken into consideration there, so as he may have a mark of his Majesties most Royal bounty which may largely extend to him and his posterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.*

W. PARSONS.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord ROBERT Earle of Leicester, Lo. Lieutenant Gen. and General Governour of the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

The

THe dispatch sent to his Majesty was addressed to Sir *Henry Vane*, Principal Secretary, and carried by Sir *Henry Spotswood*, who went by Sea directly into *Scotland:* And the Letters to the L. Lieutenant were sent to *London* by *Owen O Conally*, the first discoverer of the Plot.

The Lords Justices cause the Proclamations to be dispersed, Letters to be written and other means to be used for the prevention of the rising of the *Irish* in the North, but all to no purpose.

The Lords now with all care and diligence applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was possible, the destruction intended against all the *British* inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the security of the City and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reason of their own wants both of men and mony. They having formerly sent away and dispersed the Proclamations into several parts of the Country, now sent Letters by expres Messengers unto the Presidents of *Munster* & *Conaght*, and to several principal Gentlemen in those two Provinces; as also to others within the Province of *Lemster*, giving them notice of the discovery of the Plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defence of the Country about them. They sent another expres to the Earl of *Ormond*, then at his house at *Carick*, with Letters to the same effect; and withall desired his Lordship presently to repair unto them at *Dublin* with his Troop of Hors. They sent likewise Commissions to the Lords Viscounts of *Clandeboys*, & of the *Ardes*, for raising of the *Scots* in the Northern parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did also soon after to Sir *William Stewart*, & Sir *Robert Stewart*, & several other Gentlemen of quality in the North. And as they gave them order for prosecution of the Rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive such of them in as should submit to his Majesties grace & mercy. But these dispatches they were enforced to send all by Sea, the Rebels having stopped up the passages, and hindred all manner of entercourse with that Province by Land.

The Lords of the *English Pale* repair to the Council-board, and there declare their Loyal affections to his Majesty. The *English Pale* is a large circuit of Land possessed at the time of the first Conquest of *Ireland* by the *English*, & ever since inhabited by them; it contains several Counties, viz. the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Lowth*, *Kildare*, &c.

The Lords of the *Pale* having been at the Council-board, and there declared to the Lords Justices, with great protestations, their Loyal affections unto his Majesty; together with their readiness and forward concurrence with their Lordships in this service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordships, the deep sense they had of an expression in the late Proclamation set out upon the discovery of this great Conspiracy intended, as is there set down, *By some evil affected Irish Papists*, which words they feared might be by some mis-interpreted, and such a construction put upon them, as might reflect upon their persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council thought fit, to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to remonstrate the clearness of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the world, they entertained not the least jealous thoughts of them, they caused a new Proclamation to be set out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those Lords and Gentlemen occasion to break out into those rebellious courses, they soon afterwards took to their own destruction.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. *John Borlace.*

WHereas a Petition hath been preferred unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale*, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the *Pale*, and other the old *Engliſh* of this Kingdom, ſhewing that whereas a late Conſpiracy of Treaſon is diſcovered of ill-affected perſons of the old *Iriſh*, and that thereupon a Proclamation was publiſhed by Us; wherein among other things, it is declared that the ſaid Conſpiracy was perpetrated by *Iriſh Papiſts* without diſtinction of any; and they doubting that by thoſe general words of *Iriſh Papiſts*, they might ſeem to be involved, though they declare themſelves confident that We did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old *Iriſh*, nor of their faction, or confederacy; but are altogether averſe and oppoſite to all their deſigns, and all others of like condition; We do therefore to give them full ſatisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all His Majeſties good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the words, *Iriſh Papiſts*, We intended onely ſuch of the old meer *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter*, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this Treaſon, and others who adhere to them; and that We did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old *Engliſh* of the *Pale*, nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, We being well aſſured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affections and ſervices of their Anceſtors in former times of danger and Rebellion. And We further require all His Majeſties loving Subjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion, one againſt the other, and that upon pain of His Majeſties indignation. Given at His Majeſt. Caſtle of *Dublin*, 29 *Oct.* 1641.

A Proclamation iſſued for the ſatisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* Pale.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenſis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, I. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, Ja. Ware.

God ſave the King.

Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society of STATIONERS.

BUt to return now to the Northern Rebels, who ſo cloſely purſued on their firſt plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in moſt of the chief places of ſtrength there, upon the 23. of *Octob.* the day appointed for the ſurprizal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, had by the latter end of the ſame month gotten into their poſſeſſion all the Towns, Forts, Caſtles, and Gentlemens houſes within the Counties of *Tyron, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, London Derry, Monaghan,* & half the County of *Down*, excepting the Cities of *London Derry* & *Coleraign*, the Town and Caſtle of *Encikillin*, and ſome other places and Caſtles which were for the preſent gallantly defended by the *Britiſh* undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief ſurrendred into their hands. The chief of the Northern Rebels that firſt appeared in the execution of this Plot within the Province of *Ulſter* were Sir *Phelim O Neal*, *Turlogh O Neal*, his brother, *Roury Mac-Guire* brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir *Conne Mac-Gennis*, *Col. Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahon*; theſe having cloſely combined together, with ſeveral other of their accomplices, the chief of the ſeveral Septs in the ſeveral Counties, divided their forces into ſeveral parties; and according to a general aſſignation made among themſelves at one and the ſame time, ſurprized by treachery the Town and Caſtle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Dongannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemont*, *Tonrages*, *Caricke Mac-Roſſe*, *Cloughcuter*, *Caſtle Blany*, *Caſtle* of *Monaghan*; being all of them places of conſiderable ſtrength, and in ſeveral of them companies of foot, or Troops of Hors belonging to the ſtanding-army. Beſides theſe they took a multitude of other Caſtles, Houſes of ſtrength, Towns, and Villages, all abundantly peopled with *Britiſh* inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as themſelves by their painful labours. They had made for their more comfortable ſubſiſtence, handſome and pleaſant habitations, abounding with corn, cattel, and all other commodities that an induſtrious people could draw out of a good inland ſoil. They lived in great plenty, and ſome of them very well ſtored with plate and ready mony. They lived likewiſe in as great ſecurity, being quiet and careleſs, as the people of *Laish*, little ſuſpecting any treachery from their *Irish* neighbours. The *Engliſh* well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonſtrations of love and affection. No ſtory can ever ſhew that in any Age ſince their intermixed cohabitation, they roſe up ſo ſecretly to do them miſchief. And now of late they lived ſo peaceably and lovingly together as they had juſt reaſon moſt confidently to believe, that the *Irish* would never upon any occaſion generally riſe up again to their deſtruction. This I take to be one main and principal reaſon that the *Engliſh* were ſo eaſily over-run within the Northern Counties, and ſo ſuddenly ſwallowed up, before they could make any manner of reſi-

The greater part of *Ulſter* poſſeſſed by the Northern Rebels.

The names of the chief Rebels in *Ulſter.*

Several Forts and other places ſuddenly ſurprized by the Rebels.

reſiſtance in the very firſt beginnings of this Rebellion. For moſt of the *English* having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Irish* neighbours their familiar friends: as ſoon as the fire brake out, and the whole Country began to riſe about them, ſome made their recourſe preſently to their Friends for protection, ſome relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for preſervation, or at leaſt, preſent ſafety; and with great confidence put their lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their power. But theſe generally either betrayed them into the hands of other Rebels, or moſt perfidiouſly deſtroyed them with their own hands. The Prieſts had now charmed the *Irish*, and laid ſuch bloody impreſſions in them, as it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal ſin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the *English*. All bonds and ties of faith and friendſhip were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a prey of their *English* Tenants, *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords and Maſters, one Neighbour cruelly murdred by another; the very *Irish* children in the very beginning fell to ſtrip and kill *English* children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aſide, and it was now eſteemed a moſt meritorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatſoever, bring an *English* man to the ſlaughter. A work not very difficult to be compaſſed as things then ſtood. For they living promiſcuouſly among the *British*, in all parts having from their Prieſts received the Watchword both for time and place, roſe up, as it were actuated by one and the ſame ſpirit, in all places of thoſe Counties before mentioned at one and the ſame point of time; and ſo in a moment fell upon them, murdring ſome, ſtripping onely, or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred ſuch a general terror and aſtoniſhment among the *English* as they knew not what to think, much leſs what to do, or which way to turn themſelves. Their ſervants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields, Husbands cut to pieces in the preſence of their Wives, their Childrens brains dashed out before their faces, others had all their goods and cattel ſeized and carried away, their houſes burnt, their habitations laid waſt, and all as it were at an inſtant before they could ſuſpect the *Irish* for their enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer ſo great violence, or do ſuch miſchief unto them.

The great ſecurity and confidence of the *English* in the *Irish*, a great cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

The *English* betrayed and murdered by their *Irish* friends, ſervants, and Tenants.

The intermiature of the *English* among the *Irish*, a main cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

Now for ſuch of the *English* as ſtood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in ſmall numbers, the *Irish* had recourſe to their ancient ſtratagem; which as they have formerly, ſo they ſtill continued to make frequent uſe of in this preſent Rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter, to aſſure them their lives, their goods, and free paſſage, with a ſafe conduct into what place ſoever

The *Irish* falsify their oaths and protestations to the *English* and after quarter given them in several places, murder and destroy them.

they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves disobliged from their promises, and to leave their Souldiers at liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh* by Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his brother *Turlogh*. Thus were such of the English used by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themselves to *Belterbert*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the English drawn out to the slaughter, as had gotten into the Castles of *Longford*, the Castle of *Tullogh* in the County of *Fermanagh*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the same County, and several other places; as appears by several examinations taken upon Oath, from persons that hardly escaped thence with their lives. And besides these other policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to disinable them to stand out to make any defence. As in several places the *Irish* came under divers pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the English had in their houses; and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at *Glaslough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High Sheriff there being an Irishman and a Papist, pretending that he took their Arms to secure them onely against the violence of such of the Irish as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more easily effect the destruction of the *English*, and keep off the Scots from giving them any assistance, they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the *Scotish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English* Papists, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field, against the numerous forces of the Rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of;

Several policies used by the *Irish* to prevent the *English* from rising against, or the *Scots* to joyn in their defence.

The *English* stand upon the defence of their private houses without joyning together in one body, whereby they gave great advantage to the Rebels.

every

every man betaking himſelf the beſt he could to the care of his own houſe, and ſeeking how to ſave his own family, his goods within, and his Cattel without. And ſo while they kept ſingly apart, and ſingly ſtood up for their own private preſervation, not joyning their forces together for the common ſafety, they gave the Rebels a fair opportunity, and a ſingular advantage, to work out with great facility their common deſtruction. Whereas, if they had deſerted their houſes upon the firſt notice of the riſing up of the *Irish*, and in the ſeveral Counties put themſelves into ſeveral bodies, under the commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill ſoever they were provided of Arms and munition) been able to have encountred the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many parts of the Country, or at leaſt, to have put them to ſome ſtand in their enterprize. Whereas, by the courſe they took, they moſt readily, *without almoſt any reſiſtance*, expoſed themſelves to the mercileſs cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very firſt (for ſome few days after their breaking out) did not in moſt places murder many of them: but the courſe they took, was to ſeiz upon all their goods and Cattel, to ſtrip them, their Wives, and Children naked; and in that miſerable plight, the weather being moſt bitter cold and froſty, to turn them out of their houſes, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other clothes, or but even ordinary rags to cover their nakedneſs, they were preſently taken from them again, and none ſuffered to give them any kind of ſhelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy diſpleaſure of their Prieſts and chief Commanders. And ſo they drove ſuch of the *English*, whoſe lives they thought fit at that time to ſpare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their journy towards *Carigfergus*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and ſtood upon their guards, came to compoſition with their bloody aſſailants, and gave them their goods, plate and mony, for leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their licenſe at ſo dear a rate, had Paſſes and Convoys aſſigned them by the chief Captains of the Rebels, and ſo came on of their way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children. Out of the County of *Cavan*, as M. *Creighton*, who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preſerved them from periſhing) teſtifies in his examination, there paſſed by his houſe in one company 1400 perſons, in another 500. from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in others leſſer numbers; all without any weapons, or any thing elſe but the very clothes on their backs, which they ſuffered them not to carry away with them; but many were moſt barbarouſly ſtripped

Adam Clovers examination.

of them, by those who undertook to give them safe conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other Rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded: and all in a manner whatsoever they had to cover their nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonosy* in the County of *Cavan*, who being duely sworn, deposeth *inter alia*, That this deponent and his company that were robbed, observed, that 30 persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdred and slain outright; and about 150 more persons cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the High way for 12 miles together, and many very young Children were left and perished by the way, to the number of 60 or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the Rebels was such, that their Parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, That if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor people left the most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls, and some few their Parents carried a great way to bury them. And this deponent further saith, that he saw upon the way a woman left by the Rebels stripped to her smock, set upon by three women and some Irish Children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor *English* woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour under their hands, and both she and her Child died there. Thus did their mercy in sparing those miserable souls in this manner prove by much a far greater cruelty then if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousands of *British* that fell into their hands. For now they starved and perished in multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to those that outlived the misery of their journy, their limbs onely served to drag up their bodies to Christian Burial there denied unto them. For many of the Men, and most of the Women and Children that thus escaped, either to *Dublin* or other places of safety in the North, not long outlived the bitterness of their passage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted those diseases which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into *bodies* that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

THese were the first-fruits of this Rebellion which now began to dilate it self into the other Provinces, having covered over the Northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir *Phelim O Neal* being

being the chief of that Sept, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late Earl of *Tyron*, assumed to himself the chief power among the Rebels in *Ulster*; and by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the destruction of all the *English* there. He was one of very mean parts without courage or conduct; his education for a great part of his youth was in *England*; he was admited a Student of *Lincolns Inn*, and there trained up in the Protestant Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived loosely, and having *no considerable estate*, by reason of the great engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all mens opinions. Yet such were the over zealous affections of his Countrymen in this cause, their secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, as by their forwardness to destroy the *English* and get their goods, he quickly over-run that part of the Country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this Rebellion, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Caufield* lay with his Foot-company, the Forts of *Dongannon* & *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confessor, bearing date from *Montjoy*, the 30. of *Octob.* he was able to brag of great and many victories. And presently after he had gotten such a multitude of *rude fellows* together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of men towards *Lisnagarny*, near the chief Plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot to spare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dondalke* in the County of *Lowth*. Which was a Frontier Town in the last wars against *Tyron*, and so well defended it self, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a Foot company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor Arms or Munition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants who delivered up the Town into the possession of the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641.

Sir *Phelim O Neal's* proceedings.

Dondalke taken by the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641.

The Rebels presently after their taking in of *Dondalke* marched on further into the County of *Lowth*, and possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within seven miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Drohedagh*. So as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that Town. The Lord *Moor* had already retired thither from his house at *Millifont*, and there remained with his troop of horse and two companies of foot, One was under the command of Sir *John Nettervile*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Nettervile*. He discovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections, by giving false frights and raising false rumours and

The Rebels march up towards *Tredagh*.

and making all manner of ill infusions into the minds of the Townsmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some plot to cut off the Lord *Moor* and seiz upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Netterviles* part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discreetly passed over, and so carefully looked to the guard of the Town, as they could take no advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the Townsmen were extreamly frighted with the thoughts of their present danger, and the greater part of them being Papists, were ready to declare themselves for the Catholick cause; only their desires were, things might be so ordered, as would administer unto them specious pretences of necessity for the same. The L. *Moor* gave present advertisement unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the ill condition and most imminent danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the hands of the Rebels without further strength both of hors and foot. That in case the enemy should make any sudden approaches, or attempt to surpriz the Town, he found such poor preparatives for defence within, such apparent signs of disloyalty in the Townsmen, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best endeavours they could use to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their Lordships presently resolved, to leavy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of foot, and to place them under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpose there was very opportunely in the hands of the Vice-treasurer 3000. li. in a readiness to be at that time sent over into *England*, for the satisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the leavying and setting out of those men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few days, and having a Commission of government for the Town, with some other private instructions, he marched away with great alacrity and diligence the 3. of *November*, and hapily arrived next day at *Tredagh*.

The ill condition of *Tredagh*, represented by the L. *Moor* to the L. Justices

A Regiment raised by the L. Justices at *Dublin*, and sent down under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh*. *Novemb.* 3.

The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coot* to levy a thousand men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short time made up his Regiment, wherein very many of the *English*, who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North, listed themselves; for most of the men which escaped from thence with their lives, being better able to suffer then the women and children, outlived the miseries of their journy, and putting themselves into several companies, some of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty used by

A Regiment raised by Sir *Charles Coot*.

by the Rebels towards them.

UPon the 5 of *November*, the Lords made their 2d. dispatch unto His Majesty, still at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*: At the same time they sent several Letters into *England*, to the L. Keeper, Speaker of the house of Peers, to the Speaker of the house of Commons, to the Lords of His Majesties most Hon. Privy Council, and to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in all which they did with much earnestnes declare their present dangers, together with the necessity of sending sudden relief. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly set down the miserable estate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progress that the Rebellion had in few days made since it broke out. They represented unto their Lordships the great outrages the Rebels had committed upon the *British* inhabitants in *Ulster*, that they had seized upon all their estates and houses in five Counties of that Province, possessed their Arms, detained many of the principal Gentlemen prisoners; That they had already slain many, most barbarously hewed some to pieces, that they have exposed thousands to want and beggery, who had good estates and lived plentifully: That the Rebellion began then to diffuse it self into the Counties of *Longford* and *Letrim*, and to threaten the *English* plantations in the King and Queens County: that the inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *English* near about them: that they conceived there could not be less then 30000 who had already openly declared themselves in this Rebellion, and were assembled together in several great parties; that they understood their design was, having got *Dundalke*, to take in *Tredagh*, and so to come up immediately to besiege the City and Castle of *Dublin*: that they gave out publickly, their purpose was to extirpate the *English* & *Protestants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romish Religion* were established, the Government setled in the hands of the Natives, and the old *Irish* restored to the lands of their supposed ancestors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their Lordships with the lamentable estate wherein the Kingdom stood, that his Majesty and the Parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, together with some able Commanders, 100000 l. in mony, and further provisions of Arms: That unless these were presently sent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the Kingdom would be utterly lost, all the *English* & *Protestants* in *Ireland* destroyed, the peace of the Kingdom of *England* disturbed by the *Irish* from thence, and so *England* enforced to make a new conquest of it, for that a Politick reformation would then be impossible. But now before I pass further, I shall here give an accompt of the arrival of these and the former Letters of the 25 of *October*, addressed by the Lords Justices and Council to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Owen*

The second dispatch made by the L. Justices and Council into *England*, Nov. 5.

The proceedings of the Parliament of *England* upon the first advertisements brought unto them of the Rebellion raised in *Ireland*.

O Conally, the happy discoverer of the first Plot (who carried the first Letters over) arrived at *London* the last day of *October*, and late in the evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship, who having read them over, and received from him full information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next morning to the Council-board, and having there acquainted the Lords of His Majesties Privy Council with them, he was required by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper house of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same morning: And they considering the high importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, Ordered that they should be presently sent down to the house of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the L. Privy Seal, L. High Chamberlain, L. Admiral, L. Marshal, L. Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, L. Viscount *Say*, E. *Mandevile*, L. *Goring*, L. *Wilmot*, all of them being of His Majesties most honorable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the house of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were read, and then having informed the house of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the house of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently Ordered,

That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to take into consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, *as likewise to provide for the safety of the Kingdom of* England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious debate of this great business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest to be used at present for the prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in *England*, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time spent in this debate, they came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth,

1 That 50000. l. be forthwith provided.

2 That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the state of the business in *Ireland*, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the Commonwealth. And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50000. l. and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.

3. That

3 That a ſelect Committee may be named of both Houſes to conſider of the affairs of *Ireland.*

4 That *Owen O Conally*, who diſcovered this great treaſon, ſhall have 500. l. preſently paid him, and 200. l. *per annum* penſion, until proviſion of land of inheritance of a greater value be made for him.

5 That the perſons of Papiſts of quality within this Kingdom, may be ſecured within the ſeveral Counties where they reſide.

6 That no perſon whatſoever, except thoſe who are Merchants, ſhall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houſes appointed to conſider the affairs of *Ireland.*

Theſe with ſeveral other particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the ſafety of the Kingdom of *England*, were reſolved upon the queſtion, and Maſter *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the Houſe as heads of a conference deſired with the Lords concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the ſame day; At which conference the L. Keeper did expreſs the very great ſenſe the Lords had of the exceeding great care taken by the houſe of Commons for the prevention of the further ſpreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland.* And his Lordship by command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all thoſe particulars preſented unto them by the houſe of Commons without any material alteration, only adding ſuch further things as they conceived might ſerve to further and expedite their deſires in the more ſpeedy putting them in execution.

The houſe of Commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two firſt days after the diſcovery made unto them of the Rebellion there raiſed, did notwithſtanding their own preſent diſtractions, ſet apart ſome portion almoſt of every day that they ſate, during the whole month of *November*, for the conſidering of the affairs of *Ireland*; and ſo upon the third and fourth of the ſame, reſolved upon the queſtion, and accordingly ordered theſe particulars following:

1 That the Houſe holds fit that 20000. li. be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent occaſions of *Ireland.*

2 That a convenient number of ſhips ſhall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-coaſts of *Ireland.*

3 That this Houſe holds fit that 6000 foot and 2000 hors ſhall be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed, for the preſent expedition into *Ireland.*

4 That the Lord Lieutenant ſhall preſent to both Houſes of Parliament, ſuch Officers as he ſhall think fit to ſend into *Ireland*, to command any forces to be tranſported thither.

5 That Magazines of victuals ſhall be forthwith provided at *Weſtchester*

cheſter to be ſent over to *Dublin*, as the occaſions of that Kingdom ſhall require.

6 That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carliſle*, ſhall be forthwith ſent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

7 That it be referred to the Kings-council, to conſider of ſome fit way, and to preſent it to the Houſe, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhall do ſervice in this Expedition into *Ireland*; and for a pardon of ſuch of the Rebels in *Ireland* as ſhall come in by a time limited, and of a ſum of mony to be appointed for a reward to ſuch as ſhall bring in the Heads of ſuch principal Rebels as ſhall be nominated.

8 That Letters ſhall be forthwith ſent to the Juſtices in *Ireland* to acquaint them how ſenſible this Houſe is of the affairs of *Ireland*.

9 That the Committee of *Irish* affairs ſhall conſider how, and in what manner this Kingdom ſhall make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of *Scotland* in the buſineſs of *Ireland*.

10 That directions ſhall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the preſſing of men for this particular ſervice of *Ireland*.

Theſe particulars, together with ſeveral others, being reſolved upon the queſtion, they paſſed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raiſe 3500 Foot, and 600 Hors, for the preſent ſervice there. And they further expreſſed their reſolution, not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland* further for the preſent, then for the furniſhing them with 1000 Foot, which they deſired might be tranſported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*. And on the ſame day they ordered, that the Maſter of his Majeſties Ordnance ſhould deliver to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* the number of 1000 Arms for Hors, & 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten Laſt of powder, to be preſently ſent into *Ireland*. And that the Lord Admiral ſhould ſuddenly provide ſhipping for the tranſporting of Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and other proviſions according to the former reſolutions of the Houſe.

Now while both Houſes of Parliament were taking Order for raiſing men, mony, and ſending proviſions and other neceſſaries for *Ireland*, there arrived thoſe other Letters of the 5 of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being addreſſed to the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-council, were communicated to both Houſes of Parliament, and after a conference upon them, took further reſolutions for the ſpeedy ſending away ſupplies into *Ireland*. And ſuch were the forward affections and zeal of the Houſe of Commons, to promove what concerned the ſervice of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200000 li. to be raiſed for the ſuppreſſing the *Irish* rebellion, & for ſecuring of the Kingdom of *England*, & payment of the publick debts.

And

And that they might facilitate this great work of raising such a sum of mony, upon the credit of an Act of Parliament, before the mony could be collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought fit, for the better encouragment of the City of *London*, and for the giving them full satisfaction in point of security for the monys formerly lent them, to make this Order following.

THe Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having a due regard to the good affections of the City of London, *expressed upon sundry occasions, by the advancing and lending of great sums of mony, for the service of this Common-wealth: and particularly the sum of* 50000 *li. lent for the* Irish *affairs; and the sum of* 50000 *li. more lent by the said City unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern parts before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherways secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of* London, *with interest of* 8 *li.* per cent. *for one year, out of such monys as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament. And for that purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all expedition. Provided alwayes that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any sums of mony to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons have formerly ordered the payment of any sums of mony, nor to any security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.*

BUt I shall now return to the affairs of this Kingdom, and the serious consultations and means used here by the Justices and Council for the securing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, which by reason of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, were in very great, and most apparent danger of a sudden surpriz.

And first for the Castle, Sir *Francis Willoughby* being made Governour, had a Company of an 100 men well armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary Warders, who gave their usual attendance there. And because the Lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the Castle, as had daily occasion to attend the Council-board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in Council to *Cork* House, where they continued to sit a good time after, not withstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort in great numbers of several Lords, Gentlemen and others, who within few dayes after declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them. It was Gods immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those persons, who soon after became

such bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the Lords Justices and Council; and so have left all things in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends without any further contestation or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the Castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the Town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, should come to be surprized by the Rebels, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave it out they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of it. How to compass this, seemed a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no mony to be had for the performing this work so absolutely necessary in it self, and at that time so highly importing the safety and preservation, even of the whole Kingdom. Order taken for victualling the Castle of *Dublin*. Therefore the Master of the *Rolles*, upon whom the Lords were pleased to impose this service of victualling the Castle, took the advantage of the strange frights, fears, and little safety, all the *English* & *Protestants*, conceived both themselves and their goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the chief Merchants that were Protestants in the Town, and clearly represented unto them, the high necessities of the State, the great danger of the Town, the publick benefit, and their own private security, in laying into the Castle such of their provisions as they had lying by them, even in unsafe places of the City. These impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the common danger, that they could not outlive the ruines of the Castle; partly out of their own good affections to the service, partly out of a prudent care to secure their goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn upon the Master of the *Rolles* undertaking to see them satisfied, in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain restitution in kind to the several owners. So as there were presently laid in by the English and Dutch Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above 2000 barrels of Beef, 2000 barrels of Herrings, and a good proportion of Wheat; provisions sufficient, not onely to victual the Castle for many months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after, and their mony they received within few months after, by certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*; for present payment to be made to such as laid in any provisions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well long since stopped up within the walls of the Castle; and to provide all other necessaries fit for a siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great comfort and security to all the *English* & *Protestants*.

The

The Caſtle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their care how to ſecure the City in ſome ſort, againſt any ſudden attempts. And this proved a work not eaſy to be effected, not onely in regard of the crazineſs of the walls, the large Suburbs, and weakneſs of the place; but much more in reſpect of the corrupt ill affections of the Popiſh inhabitants within the City: So ſtrangely were many of them deluded with the ill infuſions of their Prieſts, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all that in them lay, to promove the rebellious deſigns then ſet on foot (as they believed) onely for the re-ſettlement of their religion, and recovery of their liberties, They were the inſtruments to conveigh away privately moſt of the chief Conſpirators, who would have ſurprized the Caſtle on the 23. of *Octob.* They ſecretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country, they likewiſe ſent them relief that were abroad, by ſecret ways, conveighing as well Ammunition, as intelligence of all paſſages from hence. And ſuch ſtrong averſions had they againſt all contributions for the maintenance of His Majeſties army; as in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the Lords ſent for the Major and Aldermen, and laying before them the high neceſſities of the State, together with the apparent danger of the City and whole Kingdom, deſired to borrow a conſiderable ſum of mony for the preſent, which they undertook to repay out of the next treaſure that should arrive out of *England.* The Popiſh party among them was ſo prevalent, as that after a moſt ſerious conſulation and very ſolemn debate among themſelves, they returned this anſwer, that they were not able to furniſh above 40. l. and part of that was to be brought in in cattel.

The L. Juſtices care to provide for the ſafety of the City of *Dublin.*

There remained at this time imbarqued within the harbour of *Dublin* four hundred *Iriſh* Souldiers, ready, as was pretended, to ſet ſail for *Spain*, under the command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with ſome other *Iriſh* Gentlemen had procured leave from His Majeſty to leavy certain numbers of voluntiers to be tranſported over for the ſervice of the King of *Spain.* And thoſe levied in other parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together juſt at the very time deſigned for the execution of the great plot. The pretence was ſpecious, but certainly their intentions how finely ſoever covered over, were to have thoſe men in a readineſs together, at the very time appointed for the firſt breaking out of theſe unnatural troubles. And as for thoſe men which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were ſo great a terrour to all the Proteſtant inhabitants in the City, as it exceedingly perplexed the Lords how to diſpoſe ſo of them as might prevent the miſchief juſtly feared, in caſe of their landing. Their Commanders had ſo handſomely ordered the matter, as though they were deſigned for a long voyage, yet ſtay on ſhip-board any longer hey could not, by reaſon they had no victuals,

Several *Iriſh* Souldiers imbarqued under pretence of being carried into *Spain*, at the very time of the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion.

ctuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no man had order in the abſence of Colonel *Barry* (who retired himſelf ſome few miles out of the Town, the very evening before the Caſtle ſhould have been taken) to provide for the further ſupplying of them. To ſuffer them to land, was to add ſo many inſtruments of miſchief to thoſe alrea / gatehred within and about the City. Therefore it was reſolved that the Captain of the Kings Pinace then in the Harbour ſhould by force keep them from landing, which he did ſeveral days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably ſtarve, if a courſe were not ſuddenly taken to afford them ſome relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having firſt taken order they ſhould not come into the City.

Several Proclamations iſſued out by the L. Juſtices and Councel.

The Lords Juſtices & Councel thought fit within very few days after the landing of theſe men, the more to deter them, and all other ill-affected perſons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to iſſue out a Proclamation for the diſcovery and preſent removal of all ſuch as did or ſhould come and continue there without juſt or neceſſary cauſe. But ſo careful were they in this, and all other their actions, not to give any diſtaſte to the *Irish* or other inhabitants of the Country, as they forbare to inflict any puniſhment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, ſparing ſeveral perſons whom they had not onely juſt cauſe to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered ſpeeches clearly diſcovering their ill affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unneceſſary concourſe of ſtrangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceded on to ſome other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great ſecurity to the City, but leſſen the diſtempers abroad, bring ſafety to the *Pale*, and keep the dangers at diſtance, and far off from them. And for this purpoſe they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner ſort of people were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this rebellion, and by the wicked ſeducement of the firſt Conſpirators had been drawn on to deſpoile their *English* neighbour, they iſſued out a Proclamation about the beginning of the month of *November*, declaring unto all ſuch as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *VVeſt-meath*, *Lowth*, & *Longford*; that if they would come in and ſubmit, make reſtitution of the goods ſo taken, they ſhould be received to His Majeſties mercy, and no further proſecution held againſt them.

Much about the time of the ſending forth of this Proclamation, ſome of the chief of the Sept of the *Relyes*, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan* ſent up a kind of Remonſtrance to the Lords Juſtices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair anſwer, aſſuring them of their

readineſs

readineſs to give them all juſt redreſs of their grievances expreſſed therein, ſo they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their houſes, reſtore as they were able the *English-mens* goods, and forbear all further Acts of rapine and violence. And they did preſently ſend over their Remonſtrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be preſented to His Majeſty, according to their deſires. But theſe ways of moderation and peaceable perſwaſions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the reſolved minds of the Leaders, or of operation upon the hardned hearts of the people; they were too deeply engaged, ſo ſleightly to retire. They had now drenched themſelves in the blood of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their ſpoils. It was not poſſible for them to make reſtitution, and they hoped to go through with the work & by the united power of the Kingdom to draw the whole managment of the affairs into their own hands.

A Remonſtrance ſent up to the Lords Juſtices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

And now likewiſe the Lords Juſtices and Council, that they might ſhew the great confidence they had in the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and give them both opportunity and means to expreſs their loyalty and affections to His Majeſties ſervice, reſolved (according as the conſtitution of their affairs then required) to do ſome ſuch Acts as might clearly perſwade them of the great truſt they really repoſed in them. And therefore firſt they gave out ſeveral Commiſſions of Martial Law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary courſe of the Common Law) of ſuch Traitours and Rebels as ſhould be apprehended doing miſchief in any parts of the Country about them. And theſe they directed to the moſt active Gentlemen, though all Papiſts, inhabiting in the ſeveral Counties, As, To *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Eſq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton* and *James Tuit* Eſq; in the County of *Weſt-meath*, *Valerian Weſley* in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*.

Commiſſions of martial Law granted unto ſeveral perſons by the Lords Juſtices.

Next they made choice of the chief perſons of quality reſiding in the ſaid Counties of the *Pale*, and others adiacent to them, to govern and command ſuch forces as ſhould be raiſed by them, and armed by the ſtate for the defence of the Country, and iſſued out from the Council-board ſeveral Commiſſions of government unto them. As, One to the Earl of *Ormond* and the L. Viſcount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall* Eſq; for the County of *Caterlagh*; Sir *Jam. Dillon* the elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the yonger for the County of *Longford*; L. Viſcount *Coſteloe* for the County of *Maio*, Sir *Robert Talbot* & *Garrat Birne* for the County of *Wiclow*; Sir *Chriſtopher Bellew* for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *Weſt-meath*; *Nicholas Barnwall* for the County of *Dublin*; L. Viſcount *Gormanſton* for the County of *Meath*. All theſe were made

Commiſſions of government of the ſeveral Counties within the *Pale*, granted to ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, without diſtinction of Religion.

choice of without distinction of religion; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief persons of power in the Country into those places of trust; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatning incursions of the Northern Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform if they would really joyn in the service, or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

The Commission directed to the L. of *Gormanston*, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his study by some of His Majesties army, when he and all the rest of the Governours that were of the *Romish Religion*, thus chosen, deserted their houses, and openly declared themselves in actual rebellion. The other Commissions were all of the the same tenour.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. *John Borlace.*

RIght truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas divers moſt diſloyal and malignant perſons within this Kingdom have traiterouſly conſpired againſt His Majeſty, His Peace, Crown, and Dignity; and many of them in execution of their Conſpiracy, are traiterouſly aſſembled together in a warlike manner, and have moſt inhumanely made deſtruction and devaſtation of the perſons and eſtates of divers of His Majeſties good and loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, ſlain, and impriſoned great numbers of them. We out of our care and zeal for the common good, being deſirous by all means to ſuppreſs the ſaid treaſons and traitors, and to conſerve the perſons and fortunes of His Majeſties loving Subjects here in ſafety; and to prevent the further ſpoil and devaſtation of His Majeſties good people here, do therefore hereby require and authorize you, to levy, raiſe and aſſemble, all, every, or any the forces, as well Foot-men as Hors-men with in the County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the command in chief of all the ſaid forces, and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as Commander of them in chief, to arm, array, divide, diſtribute, diſpoſe, conduct, lead, and govern in chief the ſaid forces, according to your beſt Diſcretion; and with the ſaid forces to reſiſt, purſue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, ſlay, and kill, as well by battel as other ways, all and ſingular the ſaid Conſpirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Diſcretion; and according to your Conſcience and Diſcretion to proceed againſt them, or any of them, by martial law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accuſtomed in time of open Rebellion; and alſo to take, waſte, and ſpoil their, or any of their Caſtles, Holds, Forts, Houſes, Goods, and Territories, or other-

wise to preserve the lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into His Majesties favour and mercy, and to forbear the devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territories afore mentioned, according to your discretion: Further hereby requiring and authorizing you to do, execute, and perform all and singular such other things for examination of persons suspected, discovery of Traitors and their adherents, parlying with, and granting Protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other conveniences, sending and retaining espials, victualling the said forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose afore mentioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, and the necessity of the service require, further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as commander in chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better performance and execution of all and singular the premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit. And We do hereby require and command, all and singular His Majesties Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of *Meath*, and the borders thereof, upon their faith and allegiance to his Majesty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and singular the premises; This our Commission to continue during Our pleasure only; and for the so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given at His Majesties Castle of DUBLIN, *Novemb.* 1641.

R. Dillon. Io. Temple.
Ia. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

To our very good Lo. *Nicholas*
Vic. Com. *Gormanstown.*

In

IN theſe Commiſſions it is very obſervable, that there was power given to theſe Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to uſe fire and ſword, for the deſtruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but alſo to preſerve the lives of any of them, to receive them or any of them, into his Majeſties favour or mercy. This plainly ſhews the very great confidence the Lords were pleaſed to repoſe in them; as alſo their deſires to make them inſtruments, to deliver thoſe multitudes of people that engaged themſelves in this Rebellion, from the power, either of his Majeſties arms, or civil juſtice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious Nation; and they at the firſt applied lenitives, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourſe to more violent medicines.

Arms and munition delivered out to the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, by the Lo. Juſtices and Council.

That theſe Governours thus conſtituted, might be the better enabled according to the authority and power given unto them by their ſeveral Commiſſions, to undertake the defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching dangers; The Lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of arms, to be imployed for the arming of ſome men to be raiſed in each County for the common ſafety, beſides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the defence of their own private houſes. As to the Lord of *Gormanſtone* there were delivered Arms for five hundred men, for the County of *Meath*. There were alſo delivered Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Kildare*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Lowth*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Weſt-meath*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Dublin*. And about the ſame time there were ſent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the *Ardes* & *Clandeboys*, for the arming of the Scots in the County of *Down*. All of theſe had powder, lead, and match, proportionable to their Arms, at the ſame time delivered unto them.

Several Counties within the Province of *Lemſter* declare themſelves for the Rebels.

But now the poiſon of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it ſelf within the Northern Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffuſed into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Letrim*, *Longford*, *Weſt-meath*, & *Lowth*, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12 of *Novemb.* the *Iriſh* in the County of *Wiclow* brake out moſt furiouſly, deſpoiling, robbing, and murthering all the *Engliſh* inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair well-built houſes, drove away their Cattel, and laid ſiege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a foot company of the old Army. The news being brought to the Lords Juſtices thereof, they well conſidered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the Rebels, and

that whole County in their poſſeſſion, they could expect little quietneſs, or even ſafety in the City, by reaſon of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were moſt deſirous to have ſent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other ſide to conſider their want of means for the performance of that ſervice, that they had no mony, but few men, and many of them not to be truſted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their ſmall forces, and ſo to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aſide that reſolution, and with great grief to ſit ſtill and ſuffer the poor *English* in thoſe parts to be expoſed to the mercileſs cruelties of thoſe barbarous Rebels who went on furiouſly with the work, and quickly cleared all that County of the *English* inhabitants. Within few days after, the *Irish* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to riſe likewiſe, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now alſo great apparencies of the diſloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large proteſtations under the pretence of doing ſervice had gotten into their hands the arms and munition deſigned for them by the State. And ſo myſterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, giving no manner of intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives againſt them, as their affections began even then to be juſtly ſuſpected.

The ſad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the arms, munition and other proviſions for the army, and the chief ſanctuary of all the *English* and *deſpoiled Proteſtants*, was now reduced to a very ſad condition, deſperately encompaſſed on every ſide, the Northern Rebels being come down in two ſeveral parties with great forces, within 20 miles of it on the one ſide, and the Rebels of the County of *Wiclow* infeſting it on the other ſide: which with the great reſort of ſtrangers, and the continual rumours of new plots and devices to ſurpriz the Town, poſſeſſed the *Proteſtants* with extraordinary fears of their preſent danger. But that which made their condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of *English* that came up in troops, ſtripped, and miſerably deſpoiled, out of the North. Many perſons of good rank and quality, covered over with old raggs, and ſome without any other covering then a little twiſted ſtraw to hide their nakedneſs. Some reverend Miniſters and others that had eſcaped with their lives, ſorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their Husbands, Mothers of their children barbarouſly deſtroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to perish and pour out their ſouls in their Mothers boſom: ſome over-wearied with long travel, and ſo ſurbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the Ghoſt in the ſtreets: others overwhelmed with grief, diſtracted with their loſſes, loſt

alſo

also their senses. Thus was the Town within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in all parts of the City, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionable to their wants, the Popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort unto them: so as those sad Creatures appeared like living Ghosts in every street. Many empty houses in the City, were up by special direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, and out-houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open streets, and others under stalls and there most miserably perished. The Churches were the common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in so great multitudes, as there was scarce any passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common beggars, crept into private places, and some of them that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. And so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burthen of their present calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known of some that lay almost naked, and having clothes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others that would not stir to fetch themselves food, though they knew where it stood ready for them. But they continued to lie nastily in their filthy rags, and even their own dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them. And so even worn out with the misery of their journy and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them dyed, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the women and children thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the City of *Dublin*: and so great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the Church-yards within the *whole Town* were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the Lords took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side the River, taken in upon the out-Greens, and set apart for burying places. These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the Rebels used to those English, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of those bloody Villains, what strange horrid inventions they used towards them, torturing and massacring those they there murthered, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place.

The resort of multitudes of men, women and children to the City of *Dublin*, in a most miserable posture.

They

They are left upon record to posterity, under the oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, then to shew the strange horror and amazment the beholding of them bred in all the *English* and Protestant inhabitants of the City. They seing the Rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was; As soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and seiz upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so to make a general extirpation of all the *English*, root and branch; not to leave them name or posterity throughout the whole Kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the City then had: what fears, terror, and astonishment, the miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the Rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The *English* inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these gates, and now ready to enter: the Avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither Rampires nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful travels and endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make provision for the common safety, no mony could be raised, few men gotten together: the Papists well furnished with arms closely conceiled, and desperately animated by their Priests to all manner of mischief: no Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions. And so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as under pretence of want of mony, they let it ly open till the Lords sent unto them 40. li. toward the reparation. All things tended to a sudden confusion; the very face of the City was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin: the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable: the applications by reason of the strange *aversions* of the *Popish party* of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation. Those that lived in the Suburbs removed, with their families into the City. The Privy-Councellours and persons of quality into the Castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The Rolles were by special order removed thither: the Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in. But upon the Rebels advance some what nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the strength of those old crazy walls, and therefore to make sure, resolved to quit the Kingdom, imbarquing

The fears and distractions within the City of *Dublin*.

barquing themſelves and their goods with all poſſible ſpeed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the Harbour choſe rather to endure all extremities on ſhipboard, then to hazard themſelves a ſhoar again. The *Scotish* Fiſhermen, who lay with their Boats in great numbers within the Bay, fiſhing for Herrings, having with much forwardneſs made an offer to the State to bring 500 of their men a ſhoar to be put in Arms and do preſent ſervice (a propoſition at that ſeaſon moſt acceptable) were ſo ſtrangely affrighted one evening with a falſe alarm, as that in the night, on a ſudden, they put to Sea, and quite diſappeared on theſe Coaſts till the year following. The Papiſts on the other ſide being moſt confident that the City would be taken and ſack'd by the Rebels, and fearing, leſt happily they might be miſtaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themſelves and their goods with the ſame ſpeed into the Country. And that which heightned the calamity of the poor *Engliſh* was, their flight in the Winter, in ſuch a diſmal, ſtormy, tempeſtuous ſeaſon, as in the memory of man had never been obſerved formerly to continue ſo long together. Yet the terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the Sea, moſt of thoſe who could provide themſelves of ſhipping, though at never ſo exceſſive rates, deſerted the City: and ſuch was the violence of the winds, ſuch continuing impetuous ſtorms, as ſeveral Barques were caſt away; ſome in three months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*: and almoſt all that then put to Sea, were in great danger of periſhing. The iniquities of the *Engliſh* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full: Heaven and Earth ſeemed to conſpire together for the puniſhment of them. God certainly declared his high indignation againſt them for their great ſins werewith they had long continued to provoke him in this land, and ſuffered theſe barbarous Rebels to be the inſtruments of miſchief and cruel executioners of his fierce wrath upon them. *But becauſe they have taken vengeance with a deſpightful heart to deſtroy them, for the old hatred, He will certainly in His own time execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes, as he threatned the* Philiſtins *in the like caſe.* Ezek. 25. 15, 17.

The Particulars of the first Plot of the *Irish Rebellion*: Together with a brief Narration of the most notorious Cruelties and bloudy Massacres which ensued in several parts of this *Kingdom*.

Concerning the first Plot of the Rebellion.

THus we see what a great height this Rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less then one month after the very first appearance of it: What horrid murders, cruel outrages and fearful desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties there acted had upon other parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal dilatation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased God even miraculously to bless the painful endeavours of the State, in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, till the arrival of their long expected succours out of *England*: I hold it not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late discoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the first plot will admit) to trace it up to the first beginnings we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Who were the plotters of it not yet clearly discovered.

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am my self much unsatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first debates were entertained, or who first sate in Council about it. This, as all other works of this nature, had its foundation laid in the dark, and sealed up no doubt with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the tongues of men from discovery: Besides, they knew well enough, that the Plot being most abominable in it self, to be carried on with such de-

deteſtable cruelty, should it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other treaſons applauſe and higheſt commendation) would certainly render the firſt Authors, as well as the bloudy actors, moſt odious and execrable to all Poſterity: Therefore it is not much to be wondred, that the firſt beginnings ſo myſterious and obſcurely laid, remain as yet conceiled with ſo great *Obſtinacy*: But yet I am very confident, that upon view of ſeveral examinations, any reaſonable man will conclude with me, that the very firſt principles of this inhumane Conſpiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out at the *Romish Forg*, powerfully fomented by the treachery and virulet animoſities of ſome of the chief *Irish* Natives, and ſo by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it firſt appeared: There certainly it received the firſt life and motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine; But my meaning is, it was firſt hatched and ſet on foot by thoſe moſt vigilant and induſtrious Emiſſaries, who are ſent continually abroad by the power of that See with full Commiſſion, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-eſtablishment of the *Romish Religion* in all parts where it hath been ſuppreſſed. Great numbers of theſe wicked Inſtruments (the Laws againſt all of the *Romish Clergy*, being of late laid aſide, and tacitely ſuſpended execution) came over into *Ireland*: The main ground-work, and firſt prediſpoſitions to a Rebellion in general, were moſt undoubtedly with great dexterity and artifice laid by them; their venemous infuſions taking ſuch deep roots in the minds of a blind, ignorant, ſuperſtitious people, as made them ready for a change, the great ones miſchievouſly to plot and contrive, the inferiour ſort tumultuouſly to riſe up and execute whatſoever they ſhould command.

The general Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of an ancient date.

And if we will give credit to ſeveral examinations taken, many of them from thoſe of their own, we muſt believe the plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: It had been long in contriving, and howſoever, peradventure firſt thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large contributions towards conſummation out of *England* and other Forreign parts.

I have ſeen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Prieſt, one that ſtiled himſelf *Chaplein Major* within the *Pale*, that he himſelf had been ſeven years imployed in bringing on this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into ſeveral parts about it.

Maſter *Goldſmith* a Miniſter in *Conaught* told me, that he did, a full year before the Rebellion brake out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his reſiding at *Bruſſels*, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though ſo obſcurely, as he well underſtood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Parish of *Gallooms*, in the County of *Fermanagh*,

nagh, affirmeth upon Oath, that all the Nobles in the Kingdom that were Papists, had a hand in this Plot, as well as the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahown*; that they expected aid out of *Spain* by *Owen Roe O Neal*, and that Colonel *Pluncket*, one of those that was to be an actor in the surpriz of the Castle of *Dublin*, told him, that he knew of this Plot eight years since, and that within these three years he hath been more fully acquainted with it. *Francis Sacheveril* Esq; hath deposed, that at several times shortly after the beginning of this Rebellion, he hath heard four several Popish Priests, *viz.* *Hugh Rely* of the County of *Down*, *Edmund O Tunnah* of the County of *Armagh*, *Morice Mac-Credan* of the County of *Tyron*, and *James Hallegan* of the County of *Armagh*, say, That the Priests, Jesuits and Fryers of *England*, *Ireland*, *Spain*, and other Countrys beyond the Seas, were the plotters, projectors and contrivers of this Rebellion and Insurrection, and that they have been these six years in agitation and preparation of the same, and that the said Priests did then express a kind of joy that the same was brought to so good effect: He also further deposeth, That at several times *Ever Boy Mac-Gennis* in the County of *Down* Gentleman, and *Hugh O Hagan* in the County of *Armagh* Gent. did brag and say, that they doubted not but that they should shortly conquer the *English* in the Kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves, and that they would not rest so content but they would raise strong Armies to invade and conquer *England*. *Roger Moor* one of the prime Conspirators, told Master *Colely*, then prisoner with him, that the Plot had been in framing several years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindred. By Letters sent from *Rome* to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the Lord *Mac-Guire*, which were intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parsons*, though the Fryer that writ them doth not express any certain knowledge of this very Plot, yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the *Irish*, that the news of Sir *Phelim O Neal*'s taking Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all assistance from thence, and further desiring him to send over an Agent to *Rome*, and to imploy several persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid*, *Paris*, and with the *Emperour* they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring succours from those Princes, whom he assured him would joyn to give him all assistance in this action.

Francis Sacheveril Esq; his Examination.

Besides these, we have very many other presumptions that the *Irish* since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of men, as their several *Septs* so strangely multiplied during the late peace can now afford, have long had it in design

The *Irish* have had it long in design to shake off the *English* Government.

ſign to shake off the *English* government, to ſettle the whole power of the State in the hands of the Natives, and to re-poſſeſs them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom: And that in this plot they did but go about to actuate thoſe confuſed general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they ſuppoſed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity then this moſt unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of great *Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own power and wiſe managments, drawn his Majeſty to condeſcend to their entire ſatisfaction, as well in their Church diſcipline, as the liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the diſtractions being grown up to ſome height, through the great miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and his Parliament, *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the hands of Juſtices, the old Army diſperſed in places of ſo great diſtance, as it could be of little advantage, the common Souldiers moſt of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except ſome few, worn out and gone: This, as the firſt plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends, and masking their perfidious deſigns under the publick pretences of Religion, and the defence of his Majeſties Prerogative, they let looſe the reins of their own vindicative humour and irreconcileable hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not preſume to ſay, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miſerable embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the firſt plot was laid, and moſt exactly formed many months before the War brake out betwixt the King and his people. But thus much I ſhall be bold to affirm, that upon the very firſt breaking out of this Rebellion, they did ſtrangely conjecture, and beyond all appearence of reaſon, even ſomewhat poſitively divine, of the diſmal breach and fearful diſtempers which afterwards followed to the diſabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying remedies towards the reducement of *Ireland*. For the atteſtation of this truth, I could produce the general concurrence of ſeveral circumſtances, many private diſcourſes and advertiſements, as alſo a particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it ſeems, from a very intelligent Papiſt, a great Zealot in the cauſe, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthew*'s, then in *Dublin*, who, though lately converted, retained yet a great friendſhip among them. He tells him in the beginning of the Letter, that he was deſired from ſome well wiſhing friends, to adviſe him, as he tendred his ſafety and ſecurity, upon the ſight of thoſe inſtantly to forſake and abandon that troubleſome and moſt unfortunate Kingdom, for God and man had ſpeedily reſolved to afflict and punish the overgrown impieties of theſe prophane times, all hearts and hands happily conſpiring to it; and that he ſhould be as

speedy in his passage as was possible, and rather, as the case stood, hazard all dangers by Sea, then the least at Land, to be sure not to stop in *England*, especially at *London*, that sink of sin (as he calls it) and center of disorders, for by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but troubles, factions and desperate distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for *Paris*, or rather *Brussels*, where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle. This Letter was written about the beginning of *November*, 1641. which was some few days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full six months before the taking up of Arms in *England*.

The Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* first discovered to the Lord *Mac-Guire* & others, about the time of Master *John Bellews* return out of *England*, with commission to continue the Parliament in *Ireland*, which was in *Jan.* 1640.

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more ancient date, yet by all the examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher then the month of *January*, 1640. and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulster*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambart* & Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, in *Ireland*, *March* 26. 1642. In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in *Dublin* in Candlemas Term, about the time when Master *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moor* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of *Lemster* to that purpose, who would be ready to joyn with them, as likewise a good part of *Conaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said *Roger Moor* having the next day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal* brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Master *Cosloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith, did propose, that first every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that Act, at least those that did live in one Country with them, and that when they had so done, they should send to the *Irish* in the *Low-countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after with supply of Arms and Munition, that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that day and seiz upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this day to be near Winter, so that *England* could

could not be able to ſend Forces into *Ireland*, before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themſelves would be ſupplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joyning with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he ſaid, for his own part, he was really aſſured, that when they had riſen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not ſtay long after, at leaſt they would not oppoſe any thing; and that in caſe they did, that they had men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had ſpoken to a great man (who then ſhould be nameleſs) who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be ſeen in the Act, but that till then he was ſworn not to reveil him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the command of men in thoſe parts of *Conaught*, where he lived: He further ſaith, that in Lent following, Maſter *Moor*, according to his promiſe, came into *Ulſter*, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they diſpatched one *Tooly Conley*, parish Prieſt, to Maſter *Moor*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the Low-countries, who within few months after arrived with this anſwer from the ſaid Colonel, deſiring them not to delay any time in riſing out, but to let him know of the day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good ayd; alſo deſiring them by any means to ſeiz on the Caſtle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he ſaith, that during the time of theſe their private meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birn*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brien O Neal*, and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that theſe were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their ſervice to bring it on, and that they would raiſe their men under colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then ſeiz on the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and with the arms found there, arm their Souldiers, and have them ready for any action that ſhould be commanded them. He further alſo ſaith, that they had divers private conſultations about the carrying on of this conſpiracy, not onely at *Dublin*, but in ſeveral other places in the Province of *Ulſter*, that they had ſet down ſeveral days for the putting of it in execution, but meeting with ſome obſtacles, did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of *September*, and that then they peremptorily reſolved on the 23. of *October*, for the day to execute this long deſigned plot in; and that they had reſpect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the Market-day, on which there would be the leſs notice taken of people up and down

down the ſtreets; that they then ſetled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the ſeveral Provinces for the ſurpriz of the Caſtle, and what Commanders should lead them on, that ſeing the Caſtle had two Gates, that the *Lemſter* men should undertake to ſeiz upon the little Gate, which lay neareſt to the place where the arms and munition was placed; and that the great Gate should be undertaken by thoſe of *Ulſter*, and that Sir *Phelim O Neal* should be there in perſon; but that he excuſed himſelf, becauſe he reſolved at the ſame time to ſeiz upon *London Derry*, and that thereupon by the importunity of the undertakers, it was impoſed upon him the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be there in perſon at the taking of the Caſtle of *Dublin*. That it was further reſolved what number of Forces should be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good thoſe places if poſſeſſed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with 1000 men within four days after the taking of the Caſtle; as alſo that it was reſolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the Kingdom, should riſe out that day and ſeiz on all the Forts and Arms in the ſeveral Counties; as likewiſe on all the Gentry, and make them priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any adverſe fortune, and not to kill any but where of neceſſity they should be forced thereunto by oppoſition. Theſe particulars, together with many other circumſtances very conſiderable, are ſet down in the relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained priſoner in the Tower of *London*; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, becauſe I find that relation published by authority, and ſo preſented to the common view. We shall find alſo, that *Mac-Mahon* in his examination taken when he was firſt apprehended by the Lords Juſtices and Council here, doth teſtify that all the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the firſt plot, and particularly, that all the popiſh party in the Committee ſent into *England*, as likewiſe in both houſes of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination of *William Fitz Gerald*, it is thereaffirmed, That Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſending for him five days after his riſing in Arms, told him, what he did was by directions and conſent of the prime Nobility and Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northern parts, the ſame was executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a courſe reſolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the preſervation of His *Majeſties Prerogative*, their own Religion and Liberties, againſt the Puritan faction in *England*, *Scotland* & *Ireland*; and that the Lord of *Gormonſtone* knew of this plot while he was in *England*, is teſtified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his

his Examination, as also by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his relation; who saith, that Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted some of the *Irish* Committe, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanstone*, with this plot, and that they approved it well: Colonel *Plunket* in his Letter to Father *Patrick Barnwal*, Lord *Abbot* of *Mellifont* (as he stiles him) doth seem much to glory in the means he had used to incite the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it) and assures him that the Lord of *Garmonstone*, whom he there calls Lord General, will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carried on to the very point of execution. And first it is to be observed, that howsoever Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon* and their adherents, chief of the *Irish* Septs in *Ulster*, and other Counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the stage, and by their bloudy execution notoriously declare themselves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was either altogether not originally plotted by them, most of them had but subordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first Conspirators: I take it to be most probable, after the general plot came to be reduced into form, that as the Lord of *Gormanstone* was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief of the *Pale* joyned together to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the principal Septs of the old *Irish*, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business: And after they had joyned together, and so finely ordered the matter, as they had made it a general rising, as Sir *Phelim O Neal* terms it, of all the Catholiks throughout the Kingdom, with the general consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were, with one general voice, they sounded forth from all the four Provinces of *Ireland* the same language, they used the same Remonstrances, and made the very same pretences for their justification, they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdring the *British* & *Protestants*, onely in the North, they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent bloud, then in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewise in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emissaries abroad: Those of *Lemster* brought back Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanstone*, who had long lived with good reputation in

The first contrivers of the Rebellion did not first openly appear in it.

Flanders, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulster* they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that Province: The *Munster* men brought over *Garrat Barry*, whom they made General of their forces: And those in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief command of such men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common design: All these held a due correspondency, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

Roger Moor the chief Person imployed to make a conjunction between the meer *Irish* and the *English* for raising a Rebellion.

The great instrument chiefly imployed in this work of drawing the meer *Irish* into a firm combination with the old *English* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned) was *Roger Moor* Esquire, a person of a broken fortune, by descent meerly *Irish*, and issued out of the chief family of the *O Moors* in the County of *Leax*, but by inter-marriages allied to some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*; He Treated with them about the Association; he first broke the design to the Northern *Irish*, he was the man that made several journeys in *Lemster*, into *Ulster* & *Conaught*: Sundry messages were interchangeably sent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and *entercourse between them*; And all things were so ordred for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were designed to joyn with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahun*, *Brian O Neal*, *Con O Neal*, *Hugh Birn*, for the surpriz of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Major Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February* 1641. tells, among many other remarkable passages, of several preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was sent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*, and that while he resided there he received letters from the President *Rosse* (which was Sir *Phelim O Neal*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his business; for *Brabant* & *Valence* were joyned together, which as he affirms, signified in those Characters *Ulster* & *Lemster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, *viz.* *Daniel O Neal*: Besides, as *James Talbot* Esq; testifies in his Letter of the 9 of *November* 1641 written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he understood from *Philip Mac Mulmore O Rely*, that there were certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northern *Irish*, for the advancing of the Rebellion; and that the Remonstrance from the principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Justices and Council sent by Dean *Jones*, and Master *Waldrone*, there then Prisoner, was framed in the *Pale* and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*, one

one of their own: And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any jealousies were entertained by the State of the adherence or conjunction of the old *English* with the *Irish*. What those Covenants or Contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain, some there were, and some Covenants also entred into, between the Northern *Irish*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Lemster*, and these were signed with their bloud, as Doctor *Maxwel* testifies in his examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal* say on the 19 of *December* 1641 in his own house, and in the hearing of Master *Joseph Travers* and others: If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papists of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not rise, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, signed with their own hands, and written in their own bloud, which should bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been some very strange and extraordinary engagments, and more then I can well imagine, it had not been possible that so many persons of quality, having great possessions and many Children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the main part of the plot for the surpriz of the Castle of *Dublin*, to fail, and the power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacitry and readiness undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful supplies both out of *England* & *Scotland* but by their publick Order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and Printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*, fully declared their resolutions for the vigorous prosecution of the war of *Ireland*: Nay, the Cities of *Galway* & *Limeric*, kept their designs very covertly, not doing any open acts of hostility, till after the arrival of some Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the siege of *Drohedagh* or *Tredagh* was raised, and those bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* banished by force of his Majesties Arms out of their own habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste.

Now that then they should declare themselves, is more then a Miracle to me, and such a mystery, as I should not know what to think of, but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned, that they were acquainted with the first beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular interest from time to time in the carriage of it on, so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were too deeply engaged slightly to retire; and that howsoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at first stood at a gaze, and were put to take up second Counsels; yet such was the strength of the conspiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their

Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their ſeveral aſſignations, and act their parts with great diligence and induſtry. The wife of *Philip O Rely* in the County of *Cavan*, told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Juſtices at the Council-board) that ſhe wondred very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not riſe and joyn with them in the very beginning of this Rebellion, adding theſe words, or to this effect; That if they would have let us alone, and not ſet us on, we were ſo well at eaſe, as we would never have begun this troubleſom work. It cannot certainly be imagined, that thoſe of the *Engliſh Pale* (unleſs they had been the firſt projectors, or deep adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Iriſh* ſhould have ſeized upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, places of refuge for them in all former troubles, and which would now have given them protection and ſafety againſt the incurſions of the *Iriſh*.

The *Romiſh Clergy* and the *Popiſh Lawyers* great inſtruments in the firſt Plotting and carrying on the Rebellion.

But I hold it not neceſſary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpoſe now to declare how thoſe great Inſtruments of miſchief, that were the ſupream conductors of this wicked deſign, moved forwards ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning, toward the accomplishment of their long intended extirpation of all the *British* & *Proteſtants* out of the Kingdom. I find two ſorts of perſons who did moſt eminently appear in laying thoſe main fundamentals whereupon their bloudy ſuperſtructions were afterwards eaſily reared up: And theſe were ſuch of the *Popiſh Lawyers* as were Natives of the Kingdom, and thoſe of the *Romiſh Clergy* of ſeveral degrees and Orders. For the firſt, they had in regard of their knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great reputation and truſt, they now began to ſtand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the Subject, and redreſs of their pretended grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the houſe of Commons, here then ſitting, ſome of them did there magiſterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of Law, the pernicious ſpeculations of their own brain, which though plainly diſcerned to be full of virulency and tending to ſedition, yet ſo ſtrangely were many of the Proteſtants and well meaning men in the houſe blinded with an apprehenſion of eaſe and redreſs, and ſo ſtupified with their bold accuſations of the Government, as moſt thought not fit, others durſt not ſtand up to contradict their fond aſſertions; ſo as what they ſpake was received with great acclamation, and much applauſe by moſt of the Proteſtant Members of the houſe; many of which under ſpecious pretences of publick zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their party: And then it was, that having impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, of high Treaſon,

The *Iriſh Lawyers* draw a great party in the Houſe of Commons to adhere to them.

together

together with other prime Officers and Miniſters of State that were of *Engliſh* birth, ſome of thoſe great Maſters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new expoſitions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries*, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilful, over-grown miſgovernment, then to be made againſt an Authority, that had for many years ſtruggled againſt the beloved irregularities of a ſtubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued diſtempers of the Kingdom: they diſdained the moderate qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modeſt anſwers, ſuch as the Law and duty to their Sovereign would admit. But thoſe would not ſerve their turn, they reſolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compaſs in a Parliamentary way, and therfore onely made preparatives there, and delivered ſuch deſperate maxims, which being diffuſed abroad would fit and diſpoſe the people to a change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the King no forfeiture of eſtates: That though many thouſands ſtood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of diſtruction, yet if they profeſſed not to riſe againſt the King, that it was no Rebellion: That if a man were out-lawed for Treaſon, and his Land thereby veſted in the Crown or given away by the King, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverſe the Outlawry, and recover his Anceſtors eſtate. And many other poſitions of a perilous conſequence, tending to ſedition and diſturbance, did they continue to publish during that Seſſion, and by the power and ſtrength of their party, ſo far did they prevail at laſt, as they preſumed to attempt a ſuſpenſion of *Poynings* Act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greateſt ties and beſt monuments the *Engliſh* have of their entire dominion over the *Iriſh* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the imperial Crown of *England*. They further aſſumed power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital offences: A right which no former age hath left any preſident for, neither would this admit the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Seſſion of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two months before the firſt breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have ſince aggravated as a high crime againſt the Lords Juſtices, and as one of the chief moving cauſes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But to let thoſe things paſs, how finely ſoever theſe proceedings

were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of zeal and publick affection, paſſed then currant without any manner of ſuſpicion; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully reſolved that all theſe paſſages, together with the other high conteſtations in Parliament, not to have the newly raiſed *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate ſolicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation. As likewiſe the Commiſſions procured by ſeveral of the moſt eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raiſing men to carry into *Spain*, were all parts of this Plot, Prologues to this enſuing Tragedy, Preparatives, ſuch as had been long laid to bring on the ſuddain execution of this moſt bloudy deſign, all at one and the ſame time throughout the Kingdom.

The means uſed by the Prieſts and Jeſuits to ſtir up the people to rebel.

Now for the Jeſuits, Prieſts, Fryers, and all the reſt of the viperous fraternity belonging to their holy Orders; who, as I ſaid, had a main part to Act, and have not failed with great aſſiduity and diligence to diſcharge the ſame. They loſt no time, but moſt dexterouſly applied themſelves in all parts of the Country to lay ſuch other dangerous impreſſions in the minds, as well of the meaner ſort as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the firſt occaſion. And when this Plot was ſo ſurely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the day once prefixed for execution; they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers, the good ſucceſs of a great deſign, much tending to the proſperity of the Kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholick cauſe. And for the facilitating of the Work, and ſtirring up of the people with greater animoſity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed; they loudly in all places declaimed againſt the Proteſtants; telling the people that they were Hereticks, and not to be ſuffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more ſin to kill an *English-man*, then to kill a dog; and that it was a moſt mortal and unpardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them. Then alſo they repreſented with much acrimony the ſevere courſes taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the ſuppreſſing of the *Romish* Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all profeſſors of it. They told the people that in *England* they had cauſed the Queens Prieſt to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majeſty in her own perſon under a moſt ſevere Diſcipline: That the ſame cruel Laws againſt Popery were here ordered to be put ſuddainly in execution; and a deſign ſecretly laid for bringing and ſeizing upon all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon the 23 of *November* next enſuing, and ſo to make a general Maſſacre

of

of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous so ever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and vassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattel; at their goodly Houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travells and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countrys, to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their Cattel into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less then a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietours, and onely true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The *Irish* revive their ancient animosities against the *English*.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religion, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several members as persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Cauteriers, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physitians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications

The ends proposed by the first plotters of the rebellion.

to

to ſo deſperate a Malady. In thoſe Inſtructions privately ſent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillon* of *Coſtelo*z, preſently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the alteration of the Supream power in the government and ſetling of it in the hands of the Earl of *Ormond*, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove ſuch Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their places, were there poſitively laid down to be a more likely means to appeaſe theſe tumults then a conſiderable Army. In the Remonſtrance of the County of *Longford*, preſented about the ſame time to the Lords Juſtices, by the ſame Lord *Dillon*, as alſo in the frame of the Common-wealth, found at Sir *John Dungars* Houſe, not far from *Dublin*, and ſent up thither out of *Conaught* to be Communicated to thoſe of *Lemſter*; pieces which publickly appeared ſoon after the breaking out of the Rebellion; the main points inſiſted upon in them and ſeveral others, were reſtauration of the Publick profeſſion of the *Romiſh Religion*; reſtitution of all the Plantation-lands unto the Natives, and ſettlment of the preſent Government in their hands. All the Remonſtrances from ſeveral parts, *and that came out of the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom* do concur in theſe Propoſitions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the deſires with the firſt intentions of thoſe who are now out in Rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to inſert them as I found them, Methodically digeſted into certain Propoſitions, termed.

The true cauſes of the Rebellion.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace & Quietneſs.

1 *THat a general and free pardon without any exception be granted to all His Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in purſuance thereof, and for ſtrengthning the ſame, an Act of Abolition may paſs in the Parliament here.*

2 *That all marks of National diſtinctions between* English *and* Irish *may be abolished and taken away by Act of Parliament.*

3 *That by ſeveral Acts of Parliament to be reſpectively paſſed here and in* England, *it be declared that the Parliament of* Ireland *hath no ſubordination with the Parliament of* England, *but that the ſame hath in it ſelf Supream Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, as abſolute as the Parliament of* England *there hath.*

4 *That the Act of* 12 Henry *the ſeventh, commonly Called* Poynings *Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the ſame, may be repealed.*

5 *That*

5 *That as in* England *there past an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may pass in* Ireland *another for a Sexennial Parliament.*

6 *That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 1d. of Queen* Elizabeth *in* Ireland; *and all other Acts made against Catholicks, or the Catholick Religion, since the twentieth year of King* Henry *the eighth may be repealed.*

7 *That the Bishopricks, Deanaries, and all other spiritual promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be restored to the Catholick owners, and likewise all impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and Precincts of the Religious houses of the Monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present proprietors, but to be left to them untill God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.*

8 *That such as are now entitled Catholick Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his Majesties rights of Patronages, First-fruits, and twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his Highness receives benefit thereby.*

9 *That all inquisitions taken since the year* 1634 *to entitle his Majesty to* Conaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow *and* Idvagh, *may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his Majesties late graces.*

10 *That an Act of Parliament may pass here for the securing the Subjects title to their several estates against the Crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before* 60 *years, or under colour or pretext of the present commotions.*

11 *That all Plantations made since the year* 1610 *may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament shall hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their Heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the Crown the Rents and services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers.*

12 *That the transportation of all native Commodities to all places of the world in peace with his Majesty, may be free and lawful, his customs first paid, and that the Statutes of* 10, 11 *&* 13 *of Queen* Elizabeth, *for restraining the exportation of native Commodities be repealed.*

13 *That all preferments Ecclesiastical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in his Majesties gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom onely, such as his Majesty shall think meet, without any distinction for Religion, Provided alwayes that upon the Princes of his blood of* England, *he may bestow what places he shall think meet.*

14 *That a Marshal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to*

have perpetual ſucceſſion therein with the ſame preheminence, authority and juriſdiction as they reſpectively have in England, *and that the ſaid places be ever conferred upon Noble-men, Natives of this Kingdom.*

15 *That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, Armed and provided at the charge of the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Towns, and commanded by the Natives of the ſame, who ſhall be named by the Counties, Cities and Towns reſpectively.*

16 *That his Majeſty may releaſe all Tenures in* Capite *and by Knight-ſervice; in conſideration whereof, he ſhall receive a ſetled revenue of* 12000 li. *per annum, being double the ſum which he caſually receives by them; Reliefs, Seiſines, Licenſes for Alienations, Eſcuage and Aids nevertheleſs to remain.*

17 *That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.*

18 *That ſuch new Corporations as have not the face of Corporate-Towns, and were erected to give voices in the Parliament, may be diſſolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no ſuch to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.*

19 *That there may be Agents choſen in Parliament or otherwiſe, as thought meet to attend continually his Majeſty, to repreſent the grievances of this Nation, that they may be removeable by ſuch as did elect them; and in caſe of death or removance, others may be for ever ſucceſſively ſubſtituted in that place, and that ſuch Agents may enjoy the freedom of their conſcience in Court, and every where elſe.*

Theſe are the means propoſed by theſe Catholick Remonſtrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to peace, theſe the great obſtructions they would have removed, and the conſtant Counſel they would have followed, in ſetling the tranquillity and preſent government of this Land; ſo as we need ſeek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the ſecret cauſes of their firſt riſing: we have here enough out of their own mouths, to reſolve the moſt ſcrupulous unbeliever of their firſt motives to this Rebellion. And now for the matter of Religion, howſoever I am very confident they ever really intended the re-eſtabliſhment of that of the Church of *Rome*, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all of the Reformed profeſſion: Yet conſidering the large indulgence and free liberty they univerſally enjoyed at that time in the full exerciſe of that their Religion throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; it may be moſt juſtly ſuſpected (how zealouſly ſoever they now obtrude it) that this was onely the bare outward cover-

The re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh Religion* only a pretence for the Rebellion.

ture

ture made uſe of by the principal undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant ſuperſtitious people to ſacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reaſonable man be ever preſumed, that ſuch perſons as made no Conſcience of committing Treaſon, ſo many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be parellel'd in any other Country, could be drawn meerly out of Conſcience towards God, to act theſe for the regaining of the free and publick profeſſion of their Religion.

All the grievances of the Kingdom redreſſed before the Rebellion brake out.

This certainly was no more the true and main cauſe of their taking up Arms, then the redreſs of their pretended grievances, whereunto his Majeſty had condeſcended, and out of his inclinations for their preſent relief, had given much more ſatisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, then ever they could in any other time expect to receive or hope to enjoy. Yet we ſee how little effect thoſe great graces brought over not above two months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them: for preſently after the return of their Agents with them, this moſt deteſtable conſpiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we ſhall conſider their main deſign and chief ends therein; as they appear in their firſt principles, or will give credit to the ſeveral ſpeeches and paſſages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as alſo to ſeveral other teſtimonies that have ſince privately fallen from ſome particular perſons among them, we muſt believe that their deſign clearly was to deſtroy and root out all the *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and ſo to deliver themſelves from their long continued ſubjection to the *Engliſh Nation.*

A conſultation held, whether it will be beſt to murder, or only to baniſh all the *Britiſh* out of *Ireland.*

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a moſt ſerious conſultation what courſe to take with moſt ſafety to themſelves, for the disburdening of the Kingdom of thoſe multitudes of *Engliſh*, which were in very great numbers diſperſedly planted among them. Some were of opinion that they ſhould ſpare their lives, not render themſelves guilty of the ſpilling of ſo much innocent bloud, but that they ſhould ſeiz on their goods, expell them their habitations, and after banishing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many hundred thouſands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much oppoſed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonſtrating the high inconveniences

which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby. First, That the *British* were in so great numbers, as they could not either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief: Then that if they onely expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit instruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses; that by their long experience and knowledge in the Country they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the War; and having their bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Souldiers then any new men that could be raised, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I shall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great Council then appears in the bloudy effects and horrid executions acted in the first beginnings of their Rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the *English* very various and much differing in several places; some onely stripping and expelling of them; others murdring Man, Woman and Child without mercy. But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the *British* & *Protestants* out of *Ireland*. And that these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, sufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the Kingdom their own. They then said openly, that they meant to destroy the *English*, and that they had made a Covenant no *English-man* should set footing among them. Some of the *Irish* would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that spake *English*, and all the *English* names of places changed into the old *Irish* denominations: others professed that they would not leave an *English* man or woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all should be gone, no not so much as an *English* Beast, or any of the breed of them.

The Irish to-solve to root the *English* out of *Ireland.*

Master *Creighton* in his Examination.

The Irish *in many places killed* English *Cows and Sheep meerly because they were* English; *in some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece out of their buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The Lord* Montgarrat, *Master* Edward Butler, *the Baron of* Logmouth *went with their Forces into* Munster *about the beginning of the rising of the* Irish *there, and while they remained about* Callen *and* Mallow, *they consumed no less then* 50000 *others say* 100000 English *Sheep, besides a great abundance of* English

James

James Hallegan the Prieſt did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great *Irish* Metropolitane, and terrifying his Pariſhioners therewith he told them, that from that day forth, whoſoever did harbour or relieve any *Scot*, *English* or *Welchman*, or give them Alms at their doors, ſhould be excommunicated, whereby as Maſter *Sacheveril* teſtifies in his Examination many were ſtarved and died for want in thoſe parts. We have it from Maſter *Creighton*, a reverend Miniſter, one long detained priſoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Fryers exhorted the people with tears to ſpare none of the *Engliſh*; that the *Irish* were reſolved to deſtroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the ſeed of the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *Engliſh* Name under Heaven.

Cattel, and ſuch as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitude, ſtinking, to the great anoyance of the Country. This teſtified by Henry Champart *in his Examination taken before Sir* Robert Meredith *Knight*, &c.

James Shaw *a Miniſter depoſeth, That after the Ceſſation, divers of the Rebels confeſſed the Prieſts had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare Man, Woman nor Child that were Proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſay, in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in the bloud of the Proteſtants whom they had ſlain.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnſon *Vicar of* Tullah, *of the County of* Mayo, *depoſeth, that he heard* Stephen Linoh *Prior of* Strade, *being asked if it were not lawful to kill this Deponent becauſe he would not go to Maſs; anſwered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a Sheep or a Dog: and divers of the rebellious Souldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, then they would do a Pig.*

John Addis *of the County of* Weſt-meath *depoſeth, That* Robert Magohagan *Prieſt, ſaid to this Deponent, That it was no more pity nor Conſcience to take* Engliſhmens *lives or goods from them, then to take a bone out of a Dogs mouth*, Jurat. July 21. 1642.

And ſo fond and vain were their imaginations, and to ſuch a height of madneſs were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of *Ireland* under the power of their own Nation. But as ſoon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they ſpake confidently in all places of tranſporting their Arms into *England*, That they would ſend 30000 men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in forreign Auxiliaries thither to joyn with them; and ſo by a high hand eſtabliſh the free exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion within that Kingdom. A deſign cert-

tainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had setled their affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleased God in an Extraordinary way to bring the first Plot to light, and so to bless the weak endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*; I leave it to every one to consider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accomplishment of so desperate a Project. And for my self, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first overmastered the unexpected difficulties and fatal impediments they met withall at home, and possessed themselves of the Arms and Munition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so flesht and blouded in the slaughter of many thousands of the *English* Nation, had transported a numerous Army of *Irish* Rebels, and suddainly landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the miserable desolation and ruine thereof. It must be remembred in what a most unhappy discomposure the affairs were at that time there; what a diseased body the State then had, and what high distempers then strongly working soon after brake out; what a strong party they might have found within, and with what great reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late victories atchieved in *Ireland*, signalizing the power of their Arms with such horrid cruelties and bloudy butcheries, as would have wrought a strange terror among the people.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewise who were the chief Actors and the great instruments designed by the first Plotters to predispose the people to a readiness to take Arms for the rooting out of the *British* Inhabitants from among them. The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all points ripe for execution, it was carried on to the very evening before the day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without discovery. And though it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to disappoint it in the main Piece, yet it took in the Northern parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the Province of *Ulster*. And whereas the Priests did long before in their publick Devotions at Mass pray for a blessing upon a great design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard,

heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the people a diſmiſs at Maſs, with free liberty to go out and take poſſeſſion of all their Lands, which they pretended, unjuſtly detained from them by the *Engliſh*; as alſo to ſtrip, rob, and deſpoil them of all their Goods and Cattel. They had without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick inſtructions, not to leave to the *Engliſh* any thing that might afford the leaſt comfort or hope of longer ſubſiſtence among them. This was the main bait uſed to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully then all other perſwaſions, fictions or wild *Chimera's* that they infuſed into them. It is moſt apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all parts, as well as their Clergy, preſſed them on to deſpoil the *Engliſh* of all the Goods and Cattel, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy deſires to get them into their poſſeſſion, and that they could not poſſibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more deſperately to execute all manner of villanies, then the hopes of enjoying ſo rich a prey now preſented unto them.

The *Engliſh* goods preſented to the *Iriſh* as a chief means to raiſe them up againſt them.

The people being now ſet at liberty, and prepoſſeſſed by their Prieſts with a belief that it was Lawful for them to riſe up and deſtroy all the Proteſtants, who, they told them, were worſe then Dogs; that they were Devils, and ſerved the Devil; aſſuring them the killing of ſuch was a meritorious Act, and a rare preſervative againſt the pains of Purgatory, gathered themſelves together in great numbers, aſſembling in ſeveral companies through the ſeveral parts of the Northern Counties, with ſtaves, ſithes and pitch-forks, for at firſt they had not many better weapons: And ſo in a moſt confuſed manner, they began tumultuouſly to drive away at the firſt onely the Cattel belonging to the *Engliſh*, and then to break into their houſes, and ſeiz upon their goods. It is true, there were ſome murders committed the very firſt day of their riſing, and ſome houſes ſet on fire, but theſe as I conceive, were for the moſt part out of

The people made believe by their Prieſts that it was a Meritorious act to kill the *Engliſh*.

John Parry *of* Deurmosh, *in the County of* Armagh, *depoſeth, that* O Cullan *a Prieſt, told his Auditors at Maſs, that the bodies of ſuch as died in this quarrel, ſhould not be cold before their ſouls ſhould aſcend up into Heaven, and that they ſhould be free from the pains of Purgatory.*

Margaret Bromly *in her Examination depoſeth, that ſome of the Rebels would ſay, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if themſelves ſhould now die, their ſouls ſhould go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the* Engliſh.

The *Iriſh* riſe & firſt drive away all the Cattel belonging to the *Engliſh*.

of private ſpleen, or where they had particular inſtructions ſo to do, as they had from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to kill Maſter *Arthur Champion*, a Juſtice of Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, who with ſeveral other of his neighbours were murthered at his own houſe upon the 23. of *October* in the morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at firſt, and which they moſt buſily employed themſelves about, was the driving away the *English-mens* Cattel, and poſſeſſing their goods: Wherein the common people were not the onely Actors, but even the chief Gentlemen of the *Irish* in many places, moſt notoriouſly appeared, and under plauſible pretences of ſecuring their goods from the rapine and ſpoil of the common ſort, got much peaceably into their hands: And ſo confident were the *English* of their good dealing at firſt, as many delivered their goods by retail unto them, gave them particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up ſuch of their beſt things as they had hidden under ground, to depoſite in their cuſtody. Much likewiſe they got by fair promiſes and deep engagements to do them no fruther miſchief, to ſuffer them, their Wives and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others, and eſpecially the meaner ſort of people fell more rudely to work, at the very firſt, breaking up of their houſes, and uſing all manner of force and violence, to make themſelves Maſters of their Goods.

The *Irish* Gentlemen poſſeſs themſelves of the Goods belonging to the *English*, under pretence of ſecuring them

And having thus ſeized upon all their Goods and Cattel, ranſackt their houſes, gotten their perſons under their power; The next thing they did, was to ſtrip man, woman and child, many of them ſtark naked, and ſo to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in ſome places ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves under Bushes, or in the Woods, and ſtrictly prohibiting all the *Irish* under great penalties to give them entertainment or any kind of relief, as they paſſed on upon the high-ways. And certainly their deſign in this, moſt notoriouſly appears to have been no other then that all ſuch as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold bloud, might miſerably perish of themſelves through cold, nakedneſs and want; and therefore as faſt as any of them ſo ſtripped got old rags to cover their nakedneſs, they endeavoured to ſtrip them again and again; as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*, who depoſeth, that ſome were ſtripped twice, ſome thrice, as faſt as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedneſs, the next *Irish-women* or even the Children that met them would take them off: And he and his Wife further depoſe, that when their houſe, together with the Town of *Armagh*, were ſet on fire by the Rebels, ſhe was ſtripped of

The next Act was to ſtrip the *English*, man, woman and child ſtark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors. All manner of relief forbidden to the *English* as they paſſed upon the high-way ſtripped and deſpoiled of all they had.

of her clothes ſeven ſeveral times after ſhe got other clothes; and at length, they left her not ſo much as her ſmock or hairlace, and that ſhe got to a place and hid her ſelf in a hutch for three or four days, and after went to find out her Children, two of which had the ſmall Pox viſibly upon them. *Jurat. Novemb.* 8. 1642. The manner of ſtripping the *Engliſh.*

How infallibly this courſe ſucceeded, and how ſurely they compaſſed their devillish ends hereby, is but too well known; The *Engliſh* leaving ſufficient monuments in the High-ways as they paſſed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the diſmal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller ſatisfaction of any one who ſhall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to inſert theſe two enſuing Examinations. The miſeries and mortality it brought among them.

James Redfern, of the County of *London Derry*, depoſeth, That in the Town of *Colerain*, ſince the Rebellion began, there died of robbed and ſtripped people that fled thither for ſuccour, many hundreds, beſides thoſe of the Town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the mortality there was ſuch, and ſo great, as many thouſands died there in two days, and that the living, though ſcarce able to do it, laid the Carcaſes of thoſe dead perſons in great ranks, into vaſt and wide holes, laying them ſo cloſe and thick, as if they had packed up Herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris* in the *Kings County*, Widow, being ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe this Deponent and divers other Proteſtants her Neighbours, and amongſt the reſt 22 Widows, after they were all robbed were alſo ſtript ſtark naked, and then they covering themſelves in a houſe with ſtraw, the Rebels then and there lighted the ſtraw with fire, and threw amongſt them, of purpoſe to burn them, where they had been burned or ſmothered, but that ſome of the Rebels more pitiful then the reſt, commanded theſe cruel Rebels to forbear, ſo as they eſcaped: Yet the Rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild Woods, from Tueſday until Saturday, in froſt and ſnow, ſo as the ſnow unmelted long lay upon ſome of their skins, and ſome of their Children died in their Arms: And when as the Deponent and the reſt endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the *Burre*, the cruel Rebels turned them again, ſaying, they ſhould go towards *Dublin*; and when they endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindred them again, and ſaid, they ſhould go to the *Burre*; and ſo toſſed them to and fro: Yet at length, ſuch of thoſe poor ſtripped people as died not

before they got away out of the hands of the Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were harboured and relieved by one *William Parsons* Esquire: And yet there died at the *Burre* of those stript persons, about fourty men, women and children. And this Deponent and those other stript people that survived, lived miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they with the rest, had quarter to come from thence to *Dublin.*

Jur. 7 March 1642.
Joh. Watson.
Will. Aldrich.

Isabel, the relict of *Christopher Porter*, late of *Dowris* in the *Kings County*, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, in all the particulars above mentioned as *Magdalen Redman* before examined, being her Neighbour.

Some of the most notorious CRUELTIES, and barbarous Murthers committed by the *Irish* Rebels,

attested upon Oath as they appear in several Examinations annexed in the Margin.

A particular enumeration of several bloudy Massacres and horrid cruelties, exercised upon the *British*, all testified upon Oath, and taken out of several Examinations, which are inserted in the Margin

WE may in these poor souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the miseries of all those multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanely stript, and so exposed to the same want, cold and nakedness. The mercies of the wicked are cruel; how bitter was their compassion to all those *British* that thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were as they told them at first, but the beginnings of their sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own strength, and that partly by treachery, partly by force they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in *Ulster*, disarmed the *English*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattel, stripped them of their Clothes, and had their persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer but in a most fierce outragious manner, furiously broke out, acting in all places of that Province, with most abominable cruelty, those horrid massacres and execrable murders, as would make any Christian ear to tingle at the sad commemoration of them: Then they began to

to appear in their own colours, and with great delight to ſatiate their ancient implacable malice, in their long wished and often plotted deſtruction of all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh* multitudes were preſently killed in cold bloud, ſome taken at the Plough, others as they ſate peaceably in their own houſes, others travelling upon the ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, ſuddainly ſurprized and unexpectedly cut off. At the Caſtle of [1] *Liſgool* within that County above 150 men, women and children almoſt all conſumed by fire. At the Caſtle of [2] *Moneah*, near 100 *Britiſh* there ſlain all together: And the ſame bloudy company of Rebels were no ſooner admitted into the Caſtle of [3] *Tullah*, which was delivered up into the hands of *Roury Mac-Guire*, upon compoſition, and faithful promiſes of fair quarter, but that within the very court they began to ſtrip the people, and moſt cruelly put them to the ſword, murdring them all without mercy. [4] At *Liſſenskeah* they hanged or otherwiſe killed above 100 perſons, moſt of them of the *Scotiſh* Nation; for after once they had the *Engliſh* in their power, they ſpared none of them, but uſed all the *Scots* with as much cruelty as they did the *Engliſh*. This County was very well planted by the *Britiſh* undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants in a very ſhort ſpace after a moſt horrible manner quite

Multitudes killed in cold bloud.

[1] Thomas Wenſlaw & John Simpſon, *of the County of* Fermanagh, *Gentlemen, depoſe and ſay, That in the Caſtle of* Liſgool, *there were* 152 *men, women and children burnt, or ſmothered, when the ſaid Caſtle was ſet on fire; not above two or three eſcaped, as appears in their Examinations.* Jurat. Jan. 12. Anno Dom. 1641.

[2] Thomas Wenſlaw *further depoſeth, that at the Caſtle of* Moneah, *there were ninety Proteſtants more ſlain and murdred: And that from the* [3] *Caſtle of* Moneah, *the Rebels marched to the Caſtle of* Tullah, *where by their own confeſſion, they promiſed thoſe Proteſtants that were there fair quarter: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Caſtle; thoſe Rebels in the Bawn of the Caſtle, firſt ſtripped them all of their clothes, and then, and there moſt cruelly murdred them.*

Richard Bourk, *Batchelour in Divinity, of the County of* Fermanagh *depoſeth, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at leaſt in the Caſtle of* Tullah, *and that the ſame was done after fair quarter promiſed.* Jurat. Jul. 12. 1643.

[4] Rowry Mac-Guire, *upon the* 24 *of* Octob. 1641. *came with his Company unto* Liſſenskeah, *and deſired in a friendly manner to ſpeak with Maſter* Midleton, *who had the keeping of the Caſtle. The firſt thing he did, as ſoon as he was entred therein, was to burn the Records of the County, whereof Maſter* Mi-

dleton *was the keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he enforced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one thousand pounds he had in his hands of Sir* William Balfours; *which as soon as he had, he compelled the said* Middleton *to hear Mass, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his wife and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdred one hundred persons besides, at least in that Town. These particulars and several other set down at large in a Relation sent me in by Sir* John Dunbar *Knight, one of the Justices of Peace within the County of* Fermi-nagh.

There were [5] one thousand men, women and Children carried out at several times in several troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the Bridge of *Portnedown*, which was broken down in the midst, and so driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River: And as other Relations give it in, [6] four thousand persons were drowned within the several parts of that County. [7] The Rebels in a most barbarous manner drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians unto the place of their sufferings like Swine, and if any were slack in their pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest either by killing or wounding some of their fellows in the way.

[5] 1000 *Men, women and children drowned in one place. This number is deposed in Doctor* Maxwels *Examination taken the* 22 *of* Aug. 1642.

[6] *This number of so many persons drowned within the County of* Armagh, *is deposed by* Thomas Green *and* Elizabeth *his wife, as appears by their Examinations taken* Novemb. 10. 1643.

[7] William Clerk *of the County of* Armagh *Tanner, saith, That he with* 100 *men, women and children, or thereabout, were by the Rebels driven like hogs about six miles, to a River called the* Band: *in which space the foresaid Christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting them into their sides, and they murdred three by the way, and the rest they drove to the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their pikes, and swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said River and immediately they perished, and those who assayed to swim to the shore, the Rebels stood and shot at.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

Mary *the wife of* Ralph Corn *deposeth, That* 180 English *were taken by the* Irish, *and driven like Cattel from* Castle Cumber *to* Athy.

[8] Other

[8] Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them ſafe conduct out of the Country, and ſo got them to go chcerfully on by virtue of Sir *Phelim O Neals* Paſs, until they came at ſome place fit for their execution. [9] And if they drowned them, then they had ſome prepared to ſhoot or knock down with Poles any ſuch as could ſwim, or uſed any other means to eſcape out of the water. [10] Amongſt many other, a Gentlewoman whoſe name was Miſtris *Cambell*, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and ſhe finding no means to eſcape their fury, ſuddainly claſped her arms about one of the chief rebels that was moſt forward to thruſt her into the water, & as I find it credibly related upon Oath, carried him to the bottom with her, and ſo they were both drowned together. [11] The *Cathedral* Church and Town of *Armagh* were burnt, many Towns laid waſt, all the fair Plantations made by the *Britiſh* left deſo-

[8] Elizabeth *the Wife of Captain* Rue Price *of the Town and County of* Armagh, *depoſeth, That five of her Children, together with* 110 *other Proteſtants out of the Parishes of* Armagh, Laugaul, *and other places were ſent away with paſſes from Sir* Phelim O Neal *with promiſe to be ſafely conveyed over to their friends in* England. *That their Conductor was Captain* Manus O Cane *and his Souldiers, who having brought or rather driven them like Sheep or Beaſts to the Bridge of* Portnedown, *there forced or threw all thoſe poor priſoners into the water, together with the Deponents five children, and then and there drowned moſt of them.* [9] *And thoſe who could ſwim and come to the ſhore, they either knocked them on the head, and ſo after drowned them, or elſe ſhot them to death in the water.* Jurat. Jan. 29. 1641.

Chriſtian Stanhaw, *the relict of* Hen. Stanhaw, *of the Parish of* Laugalle, *in the County of* Armagh *depoſeth, That upon the drowning of* 140 *Proteſtants one time at* Portnedown-Bridge, *after they had thrown them in, ſome of them ſwimming to the ſhore, the Rebels with their muskets knocked out their brains.* Jurat. July 23. 1642.

[10] James Shaw *of* Merket-hill *in the County of* Armagh, *depoſeth the manner of Miſtreſs* Cambels *pulling the Rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her.* Jurat. Aug. 14. 1642.

[11] *Captain* Parkin *depoſeth, That Sir* Phelim O Neal *flying from* Dundalk, *went to* Armagh, *where he began his bloudy maſſacres, cauſing* Manus O Cane *to get together all the Proteſtants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to* Colerain; *but before they were ſcarce a days journy from him, they were all murdred, and ſo were ſeveral others by ſpecial direction from Sir* Phelim O Neal, *and his Brother* Turlagh, *notwithſtanding they were protected by them. All the aged people in* Armagh *were by the ſame directions carried away, but murdred alſo at* Charlmount. *And preſently after, his Brother and he with their adherents, maliciouſly ſet on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of* Armagh, *and Town of* Armagh, *and murdered and drowned there* 500 *perſons young and old. At the Parish of* Killaman 48 *Families were then murdred by directions from Sir* Phelim, *who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year.* Jurat. March 8. 1643.

[12] Jane Grace *the wife of* Nicholas Grace *late of* Kilmore, *in the County of* Armagh, *deposeth, That there were two and twenty* English Proteſtants *burned in one Houſe, within two miles of* Kilmore; *and that the Rebels ſtripped killed, or murdred all, or the moſt of the* English *of that Parish, which conſiſted of two hundred Families. That they ſet many in the Stocks until they confeſſed their mony, and when they could get no more, that then they murdred them.*

Some horrid inhuman cruelties exercized upon particular perſons.

But before I leave this Subject, I ſhall paſs a little further, and out of ſome Examinations (taken here upon Oath, which I have peruſed) preſent a brief collection of ſome other horrid inhuman cruelties, which I find were uſed in the murdring of many poor innocent ſouls. To many, theſe bloudy villains ſhewed ſo much favour as ſuddainly to diſpatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or [13] time to make their prayers; for others, they held a ſudden death too eaſy a punishment: Therefore they impriſoned [14] ſome in moſt beaſtly Dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and their clapping bolts on their heels, ſuffered them to perish at leiſure; others they barbarouſly [15] mangled, and left languiſhing upon the High-ways, crying out but late; in ſome Parishes [12] two hundred Families murdred and deſtroyed, the whole County, as it were, a common Butchery, & thorough all parts of it very many thouſands perished in short time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that rage & malice could invent.

[13] Edward Saltinglaſs *of the County of* Armagh *Gentleman, depoſeth, and ſaith, That* George Lawlis *a rebel of the ſaid County, reſolving to kill* John Cowder, *told him he would kill him, but bid him firſt ſay his Prayers; whereupon the ſaid* Cowder *kneeling down to pray, the ſaid* Lawlis *inſtantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees.* Jurat. Jun. 1. 1642.

Elizabeth Price *depoſeth, That whenas divers of the* English *were about to be murdred, and deſired the Rebels on their knees firſt to admit them to make their prayers to God; the Rebels have often, in her the deponents hearing, in* Irish *anſwered and ſaid, bequeath your ſoul to the Devil; and at other times the Rebels would ſay, why ſhould you pray, your ſoul is with the Devil already? and with thoſe words in their mouths would ſlaughter and put them to death.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[14] Edward Banks *of* Caſſel, *in the County of* Tipperary, *Clerk, depoſeth, That the Rebels there on the firſt day of* January *killed fifteen men and women, all* English Proteſtants, *at* Caſſell, *and that they entred and took the Town, and having the ſame, that they took this deponent and other Clergy men, and then and there forthwith cauſed them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in moſt miſerable ſlavery.* Jurat. April 21. 1642.

[15] John Cregg *in the County of* Armagh, *Yeoman, depoſeth, That in the Parish of* Levilegish, *there were divers* English-men *cruelly murdred, ſome twice,* for

for ſo much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain.

Others they buried [16] alive, a manner of death they uſed to ſeveral *Britiſh* in ſeveral places: and [17] at *Clewnis* within the County of *Fermanagh*, there were ſeventeen perſons, having been hanged till they were half dead, caſt together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pittifully, ſending out moſt lamentable groans for a good time after. [18] ſome were deadly wounded and ſo hanged up on Tentor-hooks. [19] Some had ropes put about their necks, and ſo drawn thorow the water; ſome had withes, and ſo drawn up and down thorow Woods & Bogs; others were *ſome thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for ſome to come and end their miſeries by killing of them.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[16] William Parkinſon *of* Caſtle Cumber *in the County of* Kilkenny *Gent. depoſeth, That by the credible report both of* English *and ſome* Irish, *who affirmed they were eye-witneſſes of a bloudy murder committed near* Kilfeal *in the* Queens County, *upon an* English-man, *his wife, four or five children, and a maid. All which were hanged by the command of Sir* Morgan Cavanah, *and* Robert Harpool, *and afterwards put all in one hole, the youngeſt child being not fully dead, put out the hand and crying Mammy, mammy, when without mercy they buried him alive,* Jurat. Feb. 11. 1642.

Elizabeth Price *depoſeth, That* Thomas Maſon, *an* English Proteſtant *of* Laugal, *being extreamly beaten and wounded, was carried away by his wife and ſome others; for revenge of which, the Rebels moſt cruelly hacked, ſlaſhed and wounded them: and that done, dragged the ſaid* Maſon *unto a hole, and then and there threw earth, ſtones and rubbiſh upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, ſo as the ſaid* Maſons *wife told this Deponent, he cryed out to put him out of his pain, rather then hear him cry ſtill: & languiſhed till his own wife, tyed her handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith ſtopped his breath, ſo as he died.* Jurat. Jun. 29. 1641.

[17] *This particular, concerning the ſeventeen men buried alive at* Clewnis, *was teſtified unto me by Miſtreſs* Aldrich, *who was then kept priſoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their pittiful cries.*

[18] William Parkinſon, *late of* Caſtle Cumber *in the County of* Kilkenny *depoſeth, That he ſaw* Lewis O Brenan, *with his ſword drawn in the ſaid Town, purſue after an* English *boy of eight or nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name* Richard Bernet, *into an houſe, and ſaw the ſaid* Lewis *lead the ſaid boy forth of the houſe, the bloud running about his ears, in a Hair rope, and led the boy to his Fathers tentors, and there hanged him with* John Banks *another little boy.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[19] Edward Saltingſtone, *of the County of* Armagh *Gent. depoſeth, That* Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shan O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, *Gent. did take* William Blundel *of* Grange, *in the County of* Armagh *Yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the black water at Charlmount & drew him up & down the water to make him confeſs his mony, who thereupon gave him* 21 *pounds, yet within* 3 *weeks after*

hanged

he, his Wife, and seven Children were drowned by the Rebels: And further saith, that Samuel Law *of* Grenan, *in the Parish of* Armagh, *was by the said* Neil Oge O Neil, *and others, brought to a Wood, and that then, they there put a With about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them ten pounds.* Jurat. ut supra.

Margaret Fermeny *in the County of* Fermanagh, *deposeth, That the Rebels bound her and her Husbands hands behind them, to make them confess their mony, and dragged them up and down in a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skein, having first knocked him down and stripped him, and that being an aged woman of 75 years old, as she came up afterwards to* Dublin, *she was stripped by the* Irish *seven times in one day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them cloaths.* Jurat.

[20] Edward Wilson *of the County of* Monaughan *deposeth, That among other cruelties used by the Rebels to the* English, *they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died.* Jurat.

[21] Ann *the Wife of* Mervin Madesly, *late of the City of* Kilkenny, *Gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, That some of the Rebels in* Kilkenny *aforesaid, struck and beat a poor* English *woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died, those barbarous Rebels having first ript up her child, of about six years of age, and let her guts run about her heels.* Jurat.

James Geare *of the County of* Monaughan *deposeth, That the Rebels at* Clewnis *murdred one* James Nettervile, *Proctor to the Minister there, who, although he was diversly wounded, his belly ript up, and his entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this Deponent being an eye-witness, much wondred; and thus barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with them,* Jurat. April 6. 1642.

[22] Owen Frankland *of the City of* Dublin, *deposeth, That* Michael Garray *told this Deponent, that there was a* Scotish man *who being driven by the Rebels out of the* Newry, *and knockt on the head by the* Irish, *recovered himself, and came again into the Town naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his wife out of the Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skein ripped his wives belly, so as a child dropped out of her womb.* Jurat. July 23. 1642.

hanged up and taken down and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess their mony, which as soon as they had told, they then dispatched them out of the way. [20] Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many slashes and cuts they made the experiment with their Swords how many blows an *Englishman* would endure before he died. Some had their [21] Bellies ript up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman Monsters for [22] Women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several Women, many of them great with child,

child, whose [23] bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition. [24] And sometimes they gave their Children to Swine; [25] Some the Dogs eat; and some [26] taken alive out of their Mothers bellies, they cast into ditches. And for sucking children, and others of a riper age; some [27] had their brains knockt out; others [28] were trampled under-foot to death.

[23] *At* Ballimcolough *within four miles of the City of* Rosse *in April* 1642. John Stone *of the* Graige *his son, his two sons in law, and his two daughters, were hanged, one of his daughters being great with child, her belly was ript up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.*

[24] Philip Taylor, *late of* Portnedown *deposeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyers wife of* Rosse trever, *at the* Newry, *and ript up her belly, she being great with child of two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of the children.* Jurat.

[25] John Montgomery, *of the County of* Monaghan, *sworn and examined saith, That one* Brian Mac Erony, *ringleader of the Rebels in the County of* Fermanagh, *killed Ensign* Floyd, Robert Worknum, *and four of their servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to death, they buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter in law of one* Foard, *in the Parish of* Clownish, *being delivered of a child in the fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new born Child.* Jurat. June 26. 1641.

[26] Katherine, *the relict of* William Coke, *of the County of* Armagh *Carpenter, deposeth, That the Rebels of the said County robbed, stripped and murthered a great company of Protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this Deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid her self in a ditch of water, and sate there among high rushes so long, as that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly. And further saith, that some of the Rebels that escaped and fled from the battle of* Lisnagaruay, *meeting one Mistris* Howard *and Mistris* Frankland, *both great with child, and six of their children with them, those Rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdred them all, and after ripped open the Gentlewomens bellies, took out their children, the one of them being quick, and threw them into a ditch in the sight of* Jane *this Deponents daughter, who escaped because she spake* Irish, *and said she was an* Irish *woman.* Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

[27] James Stevenson, *Clerk of the County of* Letrim, *deposeth, That the Rebels there took* Isabel Stevenson, *a young child, left at* Fostering, *with one* Hugh Mac Arran *and enquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a* Schotish-mans *child, whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the brains of it out against a Tree.* Jurat. April 20. 1643.

[28] Ann Hill, *wife of* Arthur Hill, *in the County of* Caterlagh, *deposeth, That*

as she passed through the County of Wicklow, William *the Plasterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her back a young child of one year and a quarter old, threw it on the ground, trod on it that it died, stripped herself and four small children, who by the cold they thereby got, since died.* Jurat.

[28] John Stubs *of the County of* Longford, *Gent. deposeth, That he heard by some of the Sheriffs men, that* Henry Mead *and his wife,* John Bigel, William Stell, *and* Daniel Stubs *the Deponents brother, were put to death by* Lisagh Farrols, *and* Oli. Fitz Gerrals *men, who hanged them upon a Windmil, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skeins.* Jurat. Novemb. 21. 1641.

[28] Some they cut in gobbets and pieces, [29] others they ript up alive; [30] some were found in the fields, sucking the breasts of their murdred Mothers; others lay stifled in Vaults and Cellars:

El. Price *deposeth, that a great number of poor Protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their Skeins, Pitch-forks and Swords, and would slash, mangle and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which she hath in many particulars been an eye-witness.* Jurat. June 29. 1641.

[29] William Parkinson *of* Kilkenny *Esquire, deposeth, That the wife of* John Harvey *told him, that she being at* Kilkenny, *and having there turned to Mass to save her life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her children, and one* Purcell *a Butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, of five years of age, ripped up her body till her intrailes fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof she complaining to the Major of* Kilkenny, *he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the Butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her life.* Jurat. ut supra.

[30] Elisabeth Champion *late wife of* Arthur Champion *in the County of* Fermanagh *Esq, deposeth, that when the Castle of* Lisgool *was set on fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a window, to save her self from burning, was murdred by the Rebels; and next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and also murdred by them.* Jurat. April 6. 1642.

Charity Chappel *late wife of* Richard Chappel *Esquire, of the Town and County of* Armagh, *deposeth, That as she hath credibly heard the Rebels murdred great numbers of Protestants, and that many children were seen lying murdred in Vaults and Cellars, whither they fled to hide themselves.* Jurat. July 2. 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood *late Curat of* Kilbeggan *in the County of* West-meath *deposeth, That he hath heard from the mouth of the Rebels themselves of great cruelties acted by them: And for one instance, that they stab'd the Mother, one* Jane Addis *by name, and left her little sucking child, not a quarter old, by the dead corps; and then they put the breast of its dead Mother into its mouth, and bid it suck* English-*bastard, and so*

lars: others [31] ſtarved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to ſend them out to be killed by the Rebels, then to ſuffer them to ſtarve there.

Multitudes of [32] men, women, and children were found drowned, caſt into ditches, boggs and turf-pits; the ordinary Sepultures of the *Britiſh* Nation. Thouſands died of cold and want in all parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to ſtay. * Multitudes encloſed in houſes, which being ſet on fire, they were there moſt miſerably conſumed. [33] Some dragged out of their *left it there to periſh.* Jurat. March 22. 1642.

[31] Mary Barlow *depoſeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels hanged before her face, ſhe and ſix children were ſtripped ſtark naked, and turned out a begging in froſt and ſnow; by means whereof they were almoſt ſtarved, having nothing to eat in three weeks, while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-skins, which they beat with ſtones, and ſo eat them hair and all; her children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels then to ſtarve there.* Jurat.

[32] John Duffield *of the County of* Armagh, *Gent. depoſeth, That the Rebels wounded* John Ward *and* Richard Duffield, *ſo as they thereof died, and that their wives and the ſaid* John's *ſix children, being all ſtript, died of want and cold. And further ſaith, that many thouſands of Proteſtants, men, women and children, being ſtripped of their cloaths, died alſo of cold and want in ſeveral parts of the Country.* Jurat. Aug. 9. 1642.

* Jane *the wife of* Gabriel Conſtable, *late of* Drumcad *in the County of* Armagh *Gent. ſworn and examined ſaith, That her husband and his mother about* 88 *years old, and his Brother being murdred by the Rebels in the Parish of* Kilmore, *that a great number of Proteſtants were about Candlemas* 1641. *by the means and inſtigation of* Joan Hemſkin *formerly a Proteſtant, but a meer* Iriſh *woman, and lately turned to Maſs, and of divers other her aſſiſtants, forced and thruſt into a thatcht houſe within the Parish of* Kilmore, *and then and there, the Proteſtants being almoſt naked, covered with rags onely, the ſame houſe was by that bloudy woman and her barbarous aſſiſtants, ſet on fire in ſeveral parts thereof, the poor impriſoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there lockt in) were miſerably burned to death, and at length the houſe fell upon them; and the combuſtible part of the houſe being conſumed before the bodies of all thoſe miſerable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terrour of the beholders that were Proteſtants, three only eſcaped out of a hole of the houſe, and the reſt that attempted to eſcape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and ſo burned to death.* Jurat. June 16. 1642.

[33] Katherine Madeſon *of the County of* Fermanagh, *depoſeth, That they drew ſome lying ſick of Fevers, out of their beds and hanged them; and that they drove before them of men, women and children, to the number of ſixteen, and drowned them in a Boggy-pit, knocking ſuch on the head with poles as endeavoured to get out.*

[34] Thomas Green *in the Parish of* Dumcres *in the County of* Armagh *Yeoman, and* Elizabeth *his wife, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That the Deponent* Thomas Green *hardly eſcaped away with his life, but that the other Deponent and ſix children were all left among the Rebels, and ſo ſtripped of their cloaths, and hungerſtarved, that five of the children dyed, and she this Deponent being put to beg among the mercileſs Rebels, was at length reſcued from them by the* Scotish *Army: She further ſaith, that the Rebels did drown in a bog 17 men, women and children at one time within the ſaid parish; and she is verily perſwaded that the Rebels at ſeverat times and places within the County of* Armagh, *drowned above* 4000 *Proteſtants, enforcing the ſons and daughters of thoſe very aged people, who were not able to go themſelves, to take them out of their beds and houſes and to carry them to drowning, eſpecially in the River of* Toll, *in the Parish of* Loghgall. Jurat. Novemb. 10. 1643.

[35] John Rutledge *depoſeth, That ſuch were the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of the Rebels, that ſometimes they enforced the wife to kill the husband, the ſon to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the laſt blood-ſhedder. He further ſaith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of* Slego, *forced one* Lewes *the younger, to kill his father, and then hanged the ſon; and in* Mogne, *in the County of* Mayo, *the Rebels forced one* Simon Lepers *wife to kill her husband, and then cauſed her ſon to kill her, and then they hanged the ſon.*

[36] *This depoſed in Maſter* Goldſmiths *Examination, which is ſet forth at large in the pages following.*

[37] Ann Read *the relict of* Helchiah Read, *of the County of* Letrim, *depoſeth, That ſhe being ſtripped out of all ſhe had, ſome of her children dyed of want and famine, and that one of her ſons called* Stephen Read, *being about ſix years of age, was about the* 10 *of* February, 1641. *in the houſe of* James Gray, *of the County of* Cavan, *and going forth to play, there then gathered about him ſix* Irish *children of that Town, who ſuddenly fell upon him, and in ſuch manner, that ſome with ſticks and ſome with ſtones put out his eyes and bruiſed his body extreamly, ſo that he by means of thoſe children (which were none of them as ſhe is perſwaded above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed outright in the place, had not an* English *woman come thither, who took up the dying child from them, ſaying, ſhe wondred they could find in their hearts ſo to deal with a poor child; but they anſwered, they would do as much for her if they were able.* Jurat. July 12. 1642.

ſick-beds to the place of execution, [34] children enforced to carry their aged parents to the places deſigned for their ſlaughter; [35] nay, ſome children compelled moſt unnaturally to be the executioners of their own Parents, wives to help to hang their husbands, [36] mothers to caſt their own children into the water; and yet after theſe enforced acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and aſſurance to have their own lives ſaved, alwayes murdred. And ſuch was the malice and moſt deteſtable hatred born to the *English* by the *Irish*, as they taught their [37] children to kill *English* children, and

the

the [38] *Irish* women did naturally expreſs as much cruelty as the chiefeſt Rebels among them.

If theſe be not ſufficient, let us over-look the particular ends of ſome particular perſons, and we ſhall yet in them behold more horrid cruelties then theſe before mentioned. What [39] ſhall we ſay to a child boyled to death in a cauldron, a [40] woman hanged on a tree, and in the hair of her head her own daughter hanged up with her; a woman [41] miſerably rent and torn to pieces, [42] ſome ta-

[38] Dennis Kelly, *of the County of* Meath, *depoſeth, That* Garret Tallon *of* Cruiſetown *in the ſaid County, Gent. (as it is commonly reported) hired two men to kill* Ann Hagely, *wife to* Edw. Tallon *his Son a Papiſt, and at that time abſent from home; and the ſaid two men did in moſt bloudy manner, with skeins, kill the ſaid* Ann Hagely *and her daughter, and her daughters two children, becauſe they would not conſent to go to Maſs, and after they would not permit them to be buried in a Church or Church-yard, but they four were buried in a ditch.* Jurat. Aug. 23. 1643.

John Griſſel *of the* Queens County, *depoſeth, That the women and children in thoſe parts, were as cruel and forward as the men Rebels, the children, though young, being very bold in their robberies, bidding this Deponent and the reſt of the* English *be gon, or elſe they ſhould be hanged.*

Elizabeth Baskervile *depoſeth, That ſhe heard the wife of* Florence Fitz Patrick *find much fault with her husbands ſouldiers, becauſe they did not bring along with them the greaſe of Miſtreſs* Nicholſon, *whom they had ſlain, for her to make candles withall.* Jurat. April 26. 1643.

Martha Culm *depoſeth, That ſhe heard ſome of the* Irish *themſelves deteſt the cruelty of the women who followed their Camp, and put them on in cruelty, ſaying, ſpare neither man, woman, nor child.* Jurat.

[39] *This particular depoſed by* Margaret Parkin, *as alſo by* Elizabeth Burſel, *who ſaith, That the child was of twelve years of age, being the child of* Thomas Straton *of* Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 19. 1641.

[40] *The wife of* Jonathan Linn *and his daughter were ſeized upon by the Rebels neer the Town of* Caterlagh, *carried by them into a little wood, called* Stapletown wood, *and there the mother was hanged, and the daughter hanged in the hair of her mothers head, as is depoſed by* James Shaw, *Vicar of old* Laughſin. Jan. 8. 1643.

[41] Adam Clover *depoſeth, That he ſaw upon the high way a woman left by the Rebels, ſtripped to her ſmock, ſet upon by three women and ſome children, being* Irish, *who miſerably rent and tore the ſaid poor* English *woman, and ſtripped her of her ſmock in a bitter froſt and ſnow, ſo that ſhe fell in labour in their hands, and both ſhe and her child died there.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

[42] *This cruelty was uſed to ſome* English *in the Province of* Conaught, *as was teſtified by the Lords Juſtices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.*

Tho. Fleetwood *Curate of* Kilbeggan, *in the County of* Weſt-meath, *depoſeth, that the* L. *Preſident of* Conaught, *cauſed an* English *woman who could ſpeak* Irish, *to go*

toward Dublin *with a letter, but she was taken within five miles of the Town of* Athlone, *brought back and ſtoned to death by the women of the Town, dwelling on the hither ſide of the bridge.* Jurat.

[43] James *of* Hackets Town *in the County of* Caterlagh *depoſeth, That an* Irish *Gentlewoman told him and others, that ſhe turned an* English *woman away who was her ſervant, and had a child, and that before the poor woman and child were gone half a mile, divers* Irish *women ſlew them with ſtones.* Jurat. April 21. 1643.

[44] John Clerk *of* Knockback *Gent. depoſeth, That he heard credibly from Maſter* Lightboun, *Miniſter of the* Naas, *that the Rebels ſhot a pariſh Clerk near* Kildare, *through both his thighes, and afterward digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they ſet him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the earth, leaving out onely his head, in which ſtate and poſture they left the poor wounded man, till he pined, languiſhed, and ſo died.* Jurat. Octob. 24. 1643.

[45] Katharine, *the relick of* William Coke, *of the County of* Armagh, *depoſeth, That many of her neighbours who had been priſoners among the Rebels, ſaid and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would confeſs, brag, and boaſt, how they took an* English Proteſtant, *one* Robert Wilkinſon *at* Kilmore, *and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: And the ſame* Robert Wilkinſons *own Son was preſent, and a priſoner when that cruelty was exerciſed on his Father.* Jurat. February 24. 1643.

ken by the Rebels, their eyes plucked out, their hands cut off, and ſo turned out to wander up and down; [43] others ſtoned to death; [44] a man wounded and ſet upright in a hole digged in the earth, and ſo covered up to the very chin, there left in that miſerable manner to perish: a [45] mans feet held in the fire till he was burnt to death, his wife hanged at his door: [46] a Miniſter ſtripped ſtark naked, and ſo driven like a beaſt thorough the Town of *Caſhell*, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers: [47] a company of men, women and children put into a houſe, and as they were burning, ſome children that made an eſcape out of the flames were taken by ſome of the Rebels who ſtood by, cut them in pieces with ſithes, and ſo caſt them into the fire again.

[46] *At* Caſhel *in* Munſter, *beſide many Miniſters which they there hanged after a moſt barbarous manner, they ſtript one naked and drove him through the Town, pricking him forwards with Darts and Rapiers, and ſo purſuing him till he fell down dead.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[47] Chriſtian Stanhaw, *the relict of* Hen. Stanhaw, *late of the County of* Armagh *Eſq; depoſeth, That a woman that formerly lived near* Laugale, *abſolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great number of Proteſtants, men, women and children, into a houſe which they ſet on fire purpoſely to burn them, as they did, and ſtill as any of them offered to come out, to ſhun the fire, the wicked Rebels with ſithes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire and burned them with the reſt.* Jurat. July. 23. 1642.

Neither

Neither did theſe horrible tortures which they put theſe poor innocent Chriſtians unto aſſlack their fury, their malice towards them did not determine with their breath. But after ſo many ſeveral bloudy ways and cruel inventions wherewith they rent their ſouls from their wretched bodies, even to their [48] dead carkaſſes, in ſome places, they denied all manner of burial; ſome [49] they caſt into ditches, others [50] they left to be devoured by dogs & ſwine, others by Fowls and ravenous birds; nay [51] ſeveral which had been formerly buried, they digged up and left them to putrify above ground.

[48] Adam Clover *of the County of* Cavan *depoſeth, That he obſerved thirty perſons to be moſt barbarouſly murdered, and about* 150 *more cruelly wounded, ſo that traces of blood iſſuing from them, lay upon the high way for twelve miles together, and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of ſixty, or thereabouts; becauſe the cruelties of the Rebels were ſuch, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith, that ſome of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: ſo the poor people left moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous beaſts and fowls.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

[49] Edward Saltinſtale *depoſeth, That the Rebels killed* William Loverden *when he was naked, his wife and children looking on, and cutting off his head held it up to his wife and children, and his ſorrowful wife taking his corps and burying of it in a Garden,* Patrick O Dally *a Rebel, took it up and threw it into a ditch.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[50] Thomas Green *and* Elizabeth *his wife depoſe, That the Rebels at ſeveral times murdred, killed and deſtroyed the moſt part of the Proteſtants in the Parish of* Dumcres, *being about* 300 *and indeed moſt of the Proteſtants in all the County thereabouts did they kill and deſtroy by drowning, hanging, burning, the ſword, ſtarving, and other deaths, expoſing their ſlaughtred bodies to be devoured by dogs, ſwine, and other ravenous creatures: And this Deponent* Elizabeth, *ſaw the dogs feed upon thoſe dead carcaſſes.* Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

[51] Richard Bourk *Batchelour of Divinity depoſeth, That he was informed, that Maſter* Lodge, *Arch-deacon of* Killalow, *being buried about ſix years ſince, and divers other Miniſters bones were digged out of their graves as patrons of herecy, by direction of the titular Biſhop of* Killalow, *and* Robert Jones *a Miniſter was not admitted Chriſtian burial, by direction of ſome Popiſh prieſt.* Jurat. July 12. 1643.

David Buck *depoſeth, That in the parish of* Munrath, *in the* Queens County, *the Rebels digged up a number of* English *mens graves, and left the corps above ground to be abuſed by dogs, hogs, or any other ravenous creatures.*

And theſe truly are but ſome of thoſe ways, among many others which with moſt exquiſite pains & cruel tortures, were uſed by theſe mercileſs [52] Rebels to let

[52] Arthur Agmoughty *depoſeth, That during the ſiege of* Caſtle Forbez, *the Rebels killed poor children that went out to eat weeds or graſs; and that a poor woman whoſe husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two children at her feet & one at her breaſt, hoping to beg her husbands life, but they ſlew her*

in-

and her ſucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly eſcaped. Jurat. Sept. 23. 1643.

[53] *Maſter* Creighton *depoſeth in his Examination, That ſometimes the chief of the* Irish *would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and ſaid, they ſaw utter deſtruction at hand for that they had covered ſo great a bitterneſs ſo long in their hearts againſt the* English, *and now ſo ſuddenly broken out againſt them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houſes like children, and had made no difference between them, their* English *friends & kindred, by all which the* English *had ſo well deſerved of them, and they had requited them ſo evil, that the* English *would never truſt them hereafter; and now it remaineth, that either they muſt deſtroy the* English, *or the* English *them.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

horrour of their bloudy executions, actuated with all kind of circumſtances that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them. Alaſs, who can comprehend the fears, terrours, anguish, bitterneſs and perplexity of their ſouls, the deſpairing paſſions and conſternations of their mind! What ſtrange amazed thoughts muſt it needs raiſe in their ſad hearts to find themſelves ſo ſuddainly ſurprized without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miſeries which could poſſibly by man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What ſighs, groans, trembling, aſtonishment! What ſchriches, crys and bitter lamentation of wife and children, friends and ſervants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themſelves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their preſent miſery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors that compaſſed them on every ſide without all bowels of compaſſion, any ſenſe of their ſufferings, or the lea commiſeration and pity, the common comforters of men in miſery.

[54] Francis Barbour *of* Dublin *Gent. depoſeth, That at the beginning of the Rebellion, he heard ſeveral of the Rebels publickly ſay, That now the day was their own, and that they had been ſlaves to the* English *a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Chriſtmas-day, an* English *Proteſtant rogue living, with other like bitter words.* Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

[54] Jane *the relict of* Gabriel Conſtable *depoſeth, That the Rebels having half killed one* Ellen Millington, *and then put her into a dry hole made for a Well, and made her faſt in with ſtones, whereof ſhe languiſhed and died,* in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unreſiſting people, that had always lived peaceably with them, [53] adminiſtring all manner of helps and comforts to thoſe who were in diſtreſs, that made no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own Nation, but ever cherished them as friends, and loving neighbours, without giving any cauſe of unkindneſs or diſtaſt unto them. It is not poſſible to re-collect or expreſs the wickedneſs of their miſchievous inventions, or

It was no ſmall addition to their ſorrows, to hear [54] the baſe reviling ſpeeches uſed againſt their country & coun-

country-men, ſome loudly threatning [55] all ſhould be cut off and utterly deſtroyed that had one drop of *Engliſh* bloud in them; the *Iriſh* women crying out to ſpare neither man, woman nor child that was *Engliſh*; that the *Engliſh* was meat for dogs, and their children baſtards.

How grievous and inſupportable muſt it needs be to a true chriſtian ſoul, to hear a baſe [56] villain boaſt, that his hands were ſo weary with killing and knocking down Proteſtants into a bogg, that he could not lift his arms up to his head; or others to ſay, [57] that they had killed ſo many *Engliſh* men, that the greaſe or fat which remained *own, and that they had been ſlaves to the* English *a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Chriſtmas-day, an* English *Proteſtant rogue living, with other like bitter words.* Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

[55] Elizabeth *the wife of* Thomas Green *depoſeth, That ſhe heard the Rebels ſay, the* English *were meat for dogs, that there ſhould not be one drop of* English *bloud left within the Kingdom, and that they would deſtroy all, the very* English *children, whom they called baſtards.* Jurat. Novemb. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook *depoſeth, That he heard* Luke Toole *ſay, That they would not leave an* English *man or* English *woman in the Kingdom, that they would not leave an* English *Beaſt alive, or any of the breed of them.* Jurat.

Samuel Man, *of the County of* Fermanagh *Gent. depoſeth, That he heard ſome of the* Iriſh *ſay, That there ſhould not be one* English *man, woman or child left in the Kingdom.* Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingſon *depoſeth, That ſhe heard ſome of the company of* Roury Mac Guire *ſay, That the* Iriſh *had command to leave never a drop of* English *bloud in* Ireland. Jurat. Novemb. 17. 1642.

Katherine Madeſon *of the County of* Fermanagh *depoſeth, That ſhe hath often heard the Rebels ſay, that they would drive all the* English *and* Scotish *out of the Kingdom, and that both man, woman and child ſhould be cut off and deſtroyed.* Jurat. Novemb. 17. 1642.

[56] Elenor Fullerton *the relict of* Will. Fullerton, *late Parſon of* Lougall *depoſeth, That in Lent* 1641. *a young roguing Cow-boy, gave out and affirmed in this Deponents hearing, That his hands were ſo weary in killing and knocking down Proteſtants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head.* Jurat. Septemb. 16. 1642.

Owen Frankland *depoſeth, That he heard* Hugh O Can, *late ſervant to Miſtris* Stanhaw *calling to his fellows, in a boaſting manner, asking them what they had been doing at home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed ſixteen of the rogues, and ſhewed them ſome mony.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[57] Elizabeth Champion, *late wife of* Arthur Champion *in the County of* Fermanagh *Eſquire, ſaith, That ſhe heard the Rebels ſay, That they had killed ſo many* English *men, that the greaſe or fat which remained upon their ſwords and skeins, might well ſerve to make an* Iriſh *candle.* Jurat. April 14. 1642.

[58] John Birn *late of* Dongannon *in the County of* Tyron *depoſeth, That he heard ſome of the native* Irish *that were ſomewhat more merciful then the reſt, complain, that two young Cow-boys within the Parish of* Tullah, *had at ſeveral times murdred and drowned 36 women and children.* Jurat. Jan. 12. 1643.

[59] James Shaw *a Miniſter depoſeth, That after the ceſſation made with the* Irish, *divers of them confeſſed, the Prieſts had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare man, woman or child that were Proteſtants, and that he heard divers of them ſay in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to waſh their hands in the bloud of the Proteſtants which they had ſlain.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

on their ſwords or skeins, might have made an *Irish* candle; or to conſider, that two [58] young Cow-boys ſhould have it in their power to murder 36 Proteſtants. Whoſoever ſhall ſeriouſly weigh theſe particulars, will not much wonder that ſo great numbers of *British* and Proteſtants, ſhould be deſtroyed in ſo ſhort a time after the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, as Maſter *Cunningham* [59] depoſeth in his Examination: He there ſaith, That the account of the perſons killed by the Rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23. 1641. unto the month of *April* following, was as the Prieſts weekly gave it in, in their ſeveral Parishes, one hundred and five thouſand. *Jurat. April* 22. 1641.

[60] Elizabeth Champin *depoſeth, That when the Rebels had ſet the Caſtle of* Liſgool *on fire upon the Proteſtants there encloſed, and ſaw the ſaid houſe ſo burning, they ſaid among themſelves rejoycingly, Oh how ſweetly do they fry.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

When the Caſtle of *Liſgool* [60] was ſet on fire by the Rebels, and ſo many *British* as are before mentioned conſumed in the flames, thoſe miſchievous villains that had done that wicked fact, cryed out with much joy, how ſweetly do they fry! How did the Inhabitants [61] of *Kilkenny*, (a City planted with old *English*, where civility and good manners ſeemed to flourish) ſolace and pleaſe themſelves in abuſing moſt unchriſtianly the heads of a Miniſter and ſix other Proteſtants, brought in a kind of triumph into that Town: Certainly it is not to be imagined, much

[61] William Lucas *of the City of* Kilkenny *depoſeth, That although he lived in the Town till about five or ſix weeks paſt; in which time he is aſſured divers murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durſt not go abroad to ſee any of them: But he doth confidently believe, that the Rebels having brought ſeven Proteſtants heads, whereof one was the head of Maſter* Bingham *a Miniſter, they did then and there as triumphs of their victory, ſet them up on the Market-croſs on a Market-day, and that the Rebels ſlasht, ſtab'd and mangled thoſe heads, put a gag or carret in the ſaid Maſter* Binghams *mouth, ſlit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough, and after they had ſo ſolaced themſelves, threw thoſe heads in a hole in Saint* James *Green.* Jurat. Aug. 16. 1643.

leſs

leſs expreſſed, with what ſcorn and deriſion they acted theſe great cruelties upon all *Iritish* which they had gotten into their power; with what joy and exultation their eyes did behold the ſad ſpectacle of their miſeries, what [62] greedy delight and pleaſure they took in their bloudy executions; what [63] malice and hatred they expreſſed towards them, many with the laſt ſtroke of death giving them in their laſt agony [64] that

[62] Julian Johnſon, *the relict of* John Johnſon *of the County of* Gallaway *depoſeth, That after the ſlaughter of ſome* English, *ſhe heard one* O Moloy *a Frier, ſaying in a triumphing manner, It was a brave ſport, to ſee the young mew (meaning ſome of the* English *then ſlain) defending themſelves on every ſide, and their two eyes burning in their heads. And further, that ſhe heard ſome of the cruel Souldiers then and there brag and boaſt of the brave ſport they had, by putting fire to the ſtraw which a ſtripped* English *woman had tyed about her, ſaying, how bravely the fire then made the* English *jade to dance.* Jurat. Feb. 8. 1643.

Joan Conſtable, *the relict of* Gabriel Conſtable *depoſeth, That the outcries, lamentations, and ſpeeches of the poor Proteſtants burned in a thatcht houſe in the Pariſh of* Kilmore, *in the County of* Armagh, *were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardned hearts of their murdrers, but they moſt boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating thoſe cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them, and threatned and told her this Deponent, that before it were long, ſhe and the reſt of the Proteſtants ſhould ſuffer the like deaths. And further ſaith, That the Rebels within the County of* Armagh *did act and commit divers other bloudy, barbarous cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the Rebellion and her eſcape from impriſonment out of the ſaid County) by burning, drowning, hanging, the ſword, ſtarving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time betwixt* Tinon *&* Kinnard, *ſixty* British *women and children, their reſpective husbands and fathers, all their male friends that were men being murdred before: And that they did in the ſame water at another time, drown one Miſtris* Maxwel, *the wife of Maſter* James Maxwel, *when ſhe was in labour, and ſo forward therein, as ſome of thoſe bloudy actors told and brag'd to her, this Deponent, That the very childs arm appeared and waved in the water, the child being half born when the mother was drowned.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[63] Henry Brinkhurſt *of the County of* Mayo *depoſeth, That after the Maſſacre of* Shreul, *one of the Rebels that had acted his part there, came into a houſe with his hands and cloths all bloudy, ſaying, It was* English *bloud; That he hoped to have more of it, and that his skein had pincked the clean white skins of many at* Shreul, *even to the hilt thereof, and that amongſt others, it had been in the body of a fair complexioned man, whoſe name was* Jones. *At which time of his diſcourſe, the wife of the ſaid* Jones *with four of her ſmall children, ſate by and durſt not cry out, but ſtriving to ſuppreſs her extream grief, fell into a ſwoon, and was conveyed out of the room, for fear he ſhould have done the like by her and her poor children.* Henry Brinkhurſt. Jurat. Mar. 11. 1643.

[64] *This particular depoſed in the Examination of Dr.* Maxwel *and Mrs.* Price.

[65] Margaret Stokes *the wife of* Hugh Stokes *duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth* inter alia, *That when the Rebels, or any of them had killed an* English *man in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in moſt cruel manner ſtab, wound and cut him, and almoſt mangle him, and to ſhew their further malice, would not ſuffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the dogs, beaſts, and fowls of the air to devour them. And further ſaith, when they had ſo killed the* English, *they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in rejoycing and boaſting manner would ſay, That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in ſending ſo many ſouls to him to hell.* Jurat. coram Sir Gerard Lowther.

Edward Dean *of* Ocram *in the County of* Wicklow, *Tanner, depoſeth, That the* Iriſh *Rebels made Proclamation, that all* Engliſh *men and women that did not depart the Country within 24 hours, ſhould be hanged, drawn and quartred, and that the* Iriſh *houſes that kept any of the* Engliſh *children ſhould be burned. And further ſaith, That the ſaid Rebels burned two Proteſtant Bibles, and then ſaid, That it was hell fire that burnt.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[66] John Kerdif, *Clerk of the County of* Tyron *depoſeth* inter alia, *That Frier* Malon *of* Skerries, *did take the poor mens Bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces and caſt them into the fire, with theſe words, That he would deal in like manner with all Proteſtant and Puritan Bibles.* Jurat. Feb. 28. 1641.

Henry Fiſher *of* Powerſcourt *in the County of* Wicklow *depoſeth, That the Rebels entred the Pariſh Church at* Powerſcourt, *and burnt up the Pues, Pulpit, Cheſts and Bibles belonging to the ſaid Church, with extream violence and triumph, and expreſſing of hatred to Religion.* Jurat. Jan. 25. 1641.

Adam Clover *of* Slonoſy *in the County of* Cavan, *duly ſworn, depoſeth, That* James O Rely, Hugh Brady, *and other Rebels, did often take into their hands the Proteſtant Bibles, and wetting them in the dirty water, did five or ſix ſeveral times dash the ſame on the face of this Deponent and other Proteſtants, ſaying, Come, I know you love a good leſſon, here is an excellent one for you, come to morrow, and you ſhall have as good a Sermon as this; and uſed other ſcornful and diſgraceful words unto them: And further ſaith, That dragging divers Proteſtants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner into the Church, there ſtripped, robbed, whipped, and moſt cruelly uſed them, ſaying, If you come to morrow you ſhall hear the like Sermon.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

Edward Slack *of* Guſteen *in the County of* Fermanagh *Clerk, depoſeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open ſide in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it ſaying, A plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the quarrel, and that* they

fearful valediction, in *Iriſh Anim a duel,* Thy ſoul to the Devil.

But it is no wonder that they carried themſelves after this barbarous manner to theſe poor innocent Chriſtians, when they ſpared not moſt fearfully to belch out their rage againſt their maker. What open [65] helliſh blaſphemies were uttered by theſe wicked miſcreants? [66] with what indignation and reproach, did

he hoped within few weeks all the Bibles in Ireland *should be uſed as that was, or worſe, and that none should be left in the Kingdom.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

they tear, trample under their feet the ſacred Word of God? How deſpightfully did they upbraid the profeſſion of the truth to thoſe bleſſed ſouls, whom neither by threats nor terrours, pains nor torments, they could draw to forſake their Religion.

But I shall not here touch any further upon thoſe who dyed thus gloriouſly; this will be a worthy work for ſome more able pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a ſurvey of the primitive times, and look into the ſufferings of the firſt Chriſtians that ſuffered under the tyranny and cruel perſecutions of thoſe Heathenish Emperours, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger continent, where more Chriſtians ſuffered, or more unparallel'd cruelties were acted in many years upon them, then were in *Ireland*, within the ſpace of the firſt two months after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And howſoever [67] ſome by outward inflictions and tortures were drawn to profeſs the change of their Religion, and had preſently their reward; for many of thoſe they ſuddenly diſpatched with great ſcorn, ſaying, it was fit to ſend them out of the world in that good mood; [68] yet I dare ſay wer ſhall find many

[67] Alexander Creighton *of* Glaſlough *in the County of* Monaghan *Gent. depoſeth, That he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels aforeſaid, at* Glaſlough, *that* Hugh Mac O Degan, *a Prieſt, had done a moſt meritorious act in drawing betwixt fourty & fifty* English *and* Stotish *in the Parish of* Ganalley, *in the County of* Fermanagh, *to reconciliation with the Church of* Rome, *and after giving them the Sacrament demanded of them whether Chriſts body was really in the Sacrament or no; and they ſaid, Yea: And that he demanded of them further, whether they held the Pope to be ſupreame head of the Church? They likewiſe anſwered, He was: And that thereupon he preſently told them, they were in a good Faith; and for fear they ſhould fall from it, and turne Hereticks, he and the reſt that were with them, cut all their throats.* Jurat. March 1. 1641.

[68] John Glaſs *of* Montwrath *in the* Queens County, *ſworn and examined ſaith, That* Florence Fitz Patrick, *of the ſaid County, Eſquire, having received Maſter* John Nicholſon, *and his wife* Ann Nicholſon, *under his protection did endeavour all he could to turn them to Maſs or the preſent Rebellion; buth they both profeſſed, that rather then they would either forſake their Religion, or fight againſt their Countrymen they would die the death; the husband profeſſing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even ſhewing greater reſolution: They would have had her burnt her Bible; but her anſwer was, before ſhe would either burn her Bible, or turn againſt her Countrymen, ſhe would die upon the point of the ſword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath-day in the morning before Maſs, they were cruelly butchered and murdred, by the com-*

thus

mand of the ſaid Florence Fitz Patrick: *The inſtrument that acted the villany, was one* John Harding, *who ſince hath been beyond all expreſſion, tormented in his conſcience, and with continued apparitions of them (as he conceived) in ſuch lively manner as he murdered them; ſo as he is even now conſumed away with the horror of it, as is moſt frequently reported among the Rebels,* Jurat. April 8. 1642.

thus cruelly put to death, equal to ſome of thoſe ancient Worthies for their patience, conſtancy, courage, magnanimity in their ſufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing and inſulting with their laſt breath, over the inſolency, rage and malice of their moſt inhumane and cruel perſecutors.

We ſhall find in the *Roman* Story, during the ſeveral cruel conteſtations betwixt *Marius* and *Scilla*, when their factious followers filled the whole City of *Rome* with ſtreams of bloud, ſtrange and moſt incomparable paſſages of friendships; one expoſing himſelf to all manner of dangers for the preſervation of his friend of a contrary faction; ſervants willingly ſacrificing themſelves to ſave the lives of their beloved Maſters. But here on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendship; no contracts, no promiſes obſerved; quarter given in the moſt ſolemn manner with the greateſt oaths and ſevereſt execrations, under-hand and ſeal ſuddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a prey of their *English* Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Maſters; and every one eſteeming any act wherein they could declare their hatred and malice moſt againſt any of the *British* Nation, as gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the firſt and moſt bloudy executions were made in the Province of *Ulſter*, and there they continued longeſt to execute their rage and cruelty; yet muſt it alſo be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common conſent to deſtroy and pluck up by the roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpoſe they went on not onely murdring, ſtripping and driving out all of them, Men, Women and Children: but they laid waſte their Habitations, burnt their Evidences, defaced in many places all the Monuments of civility and devotion; the Courts and places of the *English* Government; nay, as ſome of themſelves expreſs it, they reſolved not to leave them either Name or Poſterity in *Ireland.*

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they cooperated each with other, will be a task of a large ſize, and more proper for another place in this Story; I ſhall here conclude this Diſcourſe concerning the cruelties exerciſed upon the *British* and

and Proteſtants with theſe following Examinations. They are eight in number, two Witneſſes, as it were, taken out of each Province, to declare their bloudy proceedings: I ſhall begin with *Munſter*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefeſt of them having been moſt unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expreſſing their Miſeries, to inſert their general Remonſtrance, made upon the concluſion of the late Ceſſation, in the year 1643. The two next enſuing are concerning the Province of *Conaght*, then thoſe of the Province of *Viſter*; and laſtly, two Examinations taken of ſome acts of cruelty committed within the Province of *Lemſter*. I have made choyce, for the moſt part of them, of ſuch as have been put in by perſons, of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning cruelties before mentioned likewiſe are. I ſhall leave the ſeveral particulars to the conſideration of ſuch as ſhall pleaſe to take the pains to read them over. And I may well ſay of them, in reſpect of the former cruelties inſerted, as was ſaid to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another caſe; *Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations then theſe.* Ezek. 8. 13.

There follow ſeveral Examinations taken upon oath of ſeveral horrid murders and moſt abominable cruelties acted within the four Provinces.

A general REMONSTRANCE of the diſtreſſed PROTESTANTS in the Province of MUNSTER.

SEeting forth, from the gaſping condition of their moſt ſad and diſtreſſed ſouls, That whereas the Province of Munſter, *through the vaſt expence of* Engliſh *treaſure and bloud, was reduced from the height of Barbariſm, to ſuch a degree of Civility, that the power and dignity of the* Engliſh *Crown was much advanced and extended, by the ſureſt and nobleſt bonds of a flouriſhing people; thoſe of Religion, Civility and Profit. Of Religion, witneſſed by the enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches. Civility, by the many coſtly Plantations, fair and ſtrong Buildings; plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hoſpitality. And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout Chriſtendom. Lands fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all ſorts of the beſt* Engliſh *Cattel,*

Cattel; which enabled us to advance great ſums to His Majeſties Cuſtoms, contribute large Subſidies, and to ſupply the Weſt of England *with ſuch a conſiderable proportion of Wooll and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of thoſe parts ſubſiſted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the* Engliſh *Undertakers, in the time of Queen* Elizabeth, *of famous memory; ſince when few parts of Chriſtendom from their beginning (in ſo ſhort ſpace) had ſuch a Riſe and growth; which was not alone to our ſelves, but the very Natives muſt confeſs, that their Eſtate were hugely augmented by our improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we conſider* from what we are faln, to what we are faln; *if the pain of loſs ſtrive to equal that of ſenſe; and if the depth of our Miſeries have not ſunk our ſouls to ſtupidity, we may compare our Woes to the ſaddeſt parallel of any Story. Our Temples demoliſhed, or worſe, prophaned by ſacrifices to Idols; our Houſes and Caſtles become ruinous heaps; our Nation extirpated, deſtroyed: No quality, age, ſex priviledged from Maſſacres and lingring death; by being robbed and ſtript naked, through cold or famine. Paſſages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famiſhed Infants of murdred Parents ſwarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our faces; and many of our, yet, miſerable remnant, which lived plentifully and relieved others, are forced to ask relief, and thoſe they ask of, conſtrained by want to refuſe them; So as undoubtedly our preſent Miſeries are not far diſtant of thoſe of* Samaria's *Siege; and all thoſe caſt upon us by this unparallelled Rebellion, at a time when we were moſt confident and ſecure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majeſty that now is, then ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what cauſe, offence, or leaſt ſeeming occaſion of provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) ſave that we were Proteſtants, and his Majeſties loyal Subjects: and could not endure their poiſonous breaths to belch out ſuch prophaneneſs, as in a deep meaſure pierced and wounded the ſacred fame of our King; and to colour this, we*

muſt

must go under the notorious names of first Puritans, and later of Roundheads; for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, That the Depopulations in this Province of Munſter *do well and near equal those of the whole* Kingdom. *The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman cruelties were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof, by the many Months endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one* Arch-Deacon BISSE, *thereunto authorized by virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was most barbarously murthered by the* Iriſh, *expreſſing that to be the cauſe. And becauſe it may be thought requiſite to touch ſomething of the Demeanours of the* Iriſh *ſince the Ceſſation, as well as before; many* Engliſh *have been murthered as they Travelled, with other expreſſions of that utter deteſtations of the* Engliſh, *that if any remain (which few do) nor ſurely will do, that can but breath elſewhere; then muſt they be in a degree worſe then any known ſlavery: And likewiſe for other parts of the Ceſſation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large extent, univerſally taken from us, even to the walls of our Garriſons; wherein we have often called to the chief of them for juſtice; which being denied (or which is worſe) delayed, want of means to juſtify our ſelves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our griefs and Supplications, above, to* God alone; *and here on earth,* to our Dread Sovereign.

The Province of Munster.

The EXAMINATION of *Ann* the late Wife of *John Sherring*, late of the Territory of *Ormond*, near the *Silverworks* in the County of *Tipperary*, aged about 25 years, Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and Saith,

THat about *Candelmas* was two years, the said *John Sherring* her then husband, going from his Farm, which he held from Master *John Kenedy* Esquire, near to the *Silverworks*, one *Hugh Kenedy*, one of the brothers of the said *John Kenedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great multitude of *Irish* rebellious Souldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Collop*, and eight more *English* Protestant men, and about ten women, and upon some Children in their company, and then and there stript them of their cloths, and then with stones, pole-axes, skeins, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, most barbarously massacred and murdered her said husband, and all those Protestant men, women and children: In the time of which Massacre, a most loud and fearful noise and storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-stones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before night, the former part of that day being all very fair, but that Thunder, Lightning and Tempest hapning suddenly after the Massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others, insomuch as those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of Gods anger and threatning of them for such their then cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloudy act, until they had murdred those said *English* Protestants and had hackt, hewed, slashed, stab'd and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her husband for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given him (*viz.*) some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back and neck: and that murder done, those barbarous Rebels tied wyths about their necks, and drew them out of the refining Mill (where indeed they slew them) and threw them or most of them into a deep hole (formerly made) one upon another, so that none of those 23 men, women nor children did escape death. Howbeit one *Tho. Ladell* a *Scottish*-man, and one *George Kelsy*, who then and there endured and had many grievous wounds and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up (after the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty, escaped with their lives: And further saith, that such was Gods judgment upon the said *Hugh Kenedy*

Kenedy for that bloudy fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night; yet coveting to do more mischief upon the *English*, but being prevented and denied to do it, he about a week after drowned himself in the next River to the *Silverworks*, but his barbarous and wicked Souldiers went on in their wickedness, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Minister and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limrick*; and this Deponent is too well assured, that those and other *Irish* Rebels in that part of the Country, exercised and committed great number of bloudy Murders, Robberies and Outrages upon the persons and goods of the Protestants, so as very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods. And further saith, that all the popish Gentry in the Country thereabouts, especially all those of the *Septs* and Names of the *O Brians*, & the *Coghlans*, and the *Kenedies*, were all actors in the present Rebellion against his Majesty; and either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to all the murders, robberies, cruelties and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further saith, that by means of the said Rebellion, her said husband and she were at *Werinwood* about *Candlemas* 1641. robbed and deprived of their Cattel, Houshold-stuff, Corn, Mault, Provision, ready mony, debts, the benefit of their Lease, and other their Goods and Chattels of the value, and to their loss of one hundred and threescore pounds at the least, and that the said *John Kenedy* Esquire, their Land-lord, was the man that so deprived and robbed them thereof, and the other Rebels stript her stark naked, *Jurat. Feb.* 10. 1643.

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton. *Ann Sherring.*

The EXAMINATION of *John Goldsmith* Parson of *Brashoul*, in the County of *Mayo*, Sworn and Examined, saith,

The Province of Conaght.

THat the Lord of *Mayo* being to convoy all those of *Castle Burre* to *Galway*, *viz.* Sir *Henry Bingham*, with all his company, and the Bishop of *Killalla* with all his company, with many of the neighbouring *English*, being about threescore in number, whereof there were some fifteen Ministers, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the safe convoy of the same parties upon a certain day; and the said Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belgharah*, having first separated this Deponent from them to attend his Lady in the work of the Ministry. At which day, the

titulary Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole number, went on their journy to *Shrewl*; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the custody of the said last named *Edmund Bourk*: But, as one Master *Bringburst* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to Massacre those Protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stab'd with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdred in the place: Amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Killalla* escaped with his life; but was then and there wounded in his head: and one Master *Crowl* a Minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this Deponent further saith, that in the Town of *Sligo*, fourty persons of *English* and *Scotish* were by the Rebels stript and lockt up in a cellar, and about midnight, a Butcher which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Axe knocked them all on the heads, and so then and there murthered them: which Butcher coming afterwards to *Castle Curre*, did there confess his bloudy fact.

In *Tirawly* within the County of about thirty or fourty *English* (formerly turned Papists) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves: They making choice of drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their arms (crying for drink) having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and children into the Sea, yielding themselves to the Mastry of the waves, and so perished.

The torments the Rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their monys, were these, *viz.* some they would take and writh withs about their heads, until the bloud sprang out of the Crown of their heads: others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down, and do the same so often over, until they confessed their monies.

And this Deponent further saith, that a young youth of about fifteen years of age, the Son of Master *Montgomery* the Minister meeting with a bloudy Rebel, who had been his School-master: This Rebel drew his skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will; nevertheless the mercilesse and cruel Rebel then and there most barbarously murdred him.

A *Scotchman* travelling in the high-way, with his wife and children near were beset by the Rebels who wounded and stab'd him

him with their pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor wife afterwards (with great grief) told him this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papist, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was after murdred for his pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scothman* near *Ballehen* was hanged by the Rebels.

Jurat. 30 *Decembris* 1643.

Henry Jones. *Joh. Goldsmith.*

Henry Brereton.

The EXAMINATION of *Jane* the wife of *Thomas Stewart*, late of the Town and County of *Sligo*, Merchant, Sworn and Examined before his Majesties Commissioners, in that behalf Authorized: Deposeth and Saith,

The Province of Conaught.

THat after the present Rebellion was begun, *viz.* about the beginning of *December* 1641. her said Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforesaid, with her this Deponent, as for twenty six years he had done, in very good estate and condition; and having continually furnished the Inhabitants of that part thereabouts with all sorts of Wares and Merchandize; and by that course having acquired and gained to himself an estate of good value: He the said *Thomas Stewart*, and she this Deponent, then possessing that Estate, were then at *Sligo* aforesaid, by *Andrew Crean* of *Sligo* Esquire, then high Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart* of *Donelly* in the said County Gentleman, *Roger O Conner* of *Skarden* in the same County Gent. *Donnel O Conner* of Gent. brother in law to *Teige O Conner*, *Sligo* *Richard O Crean* of *Tirreragh* Gent. *John O Crean* Esq; and a Justice of Peace, Son to the said *Andrew Crean*, *Anthony Screan* of near *Ballyshanny* Gent. forcibly deprived, robbed and despoiled of their Houshold-goods, Wares, Merchandize, Specialties, Cattel, Horses, Plate, Mony, and other goods and Chattles, of the value of one thousand two hundred pounds *Sterl.* or therabouts: Which robbery and outrage was committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very time of the Rebels surprizing, robbing and pillaging of all the *English* and *Scots* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof, not onely the persons, Rebels before named, but also *Teige O Conner Sligo* now of the Castle of *Sligo*, general of the Rebels in those parts; *James French* of *Sligo* aforesaid Esq; a Justice of the Peace (a notorious and cruel Rebel) *Brian O Conner* of *Drumcleer* Gent. Captain *Charles O Con-*

ner a Frier, and Captain *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, Captain *Patrick Plunket* near *Killoony* in the same County (a Justice of the Peace) Captain *Phelim O Conner*, Captain *Teige O Conner* of the *Glan*, Captain *Con O Conner*, of the same, and divers others whose names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel actors; and those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she this Deponent, and her Husband, and many other *British* were left in that Town, and amongst the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, *viz. William Braxton*, the Deponent and her Husband and six Children, *James Scot* and his Son of the age of four or five years, *Sampson Port* and his wife, *Mary Port* and her Father (of the age of seventy years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle* and his wife and children, *William Carter*, and *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his wife, *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow*, and one woman then was great with child, and within a month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot name; which *British* people (although they were promised fair quarter, and taken into the protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a collection) yet they were daily threatned to be murdred, if they would not turn Papists in one month, then the next after; which for saving of their lives, they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo*, (having before called a meeting of his followers and kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* & *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Covent of Friers of the Abby of *Sligo* for three days together, where they sat in Council) all the men, women and children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the Goal, and as many as could be met withall, were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where about twelve a clock in the night they were stripped stark naked, and after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdred with swords, axes and skeins, and particularly, by two Butchers, named *James Buts* and *Robert Buts* of *Sligo*, who murdred many of them, wherein also were Actors *Charles O Conner* the Frier, and *Hugh O Conner* aforenamed, brother to the said *Teige*, *O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart* Labourer, *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, the one the Jaylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom she cannot name: And saith, that above thirty of the *British*, which were so put into the Goal, were then and there murdred; besides, *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newsham*, and *Edward Mercer* who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest,

reſt, and *Jo. Stewart* this Deponents Son, which four being the next day found alive, yet all beſmeared with bloud, were ſpared to live. All which particulars, the Deponent was credibly told by thoſe that ſo eſcaped, and by her *Irish* ſervants and others of the Town; and ſaith, that ſome of the women ſo murdered being big with child (by their wounds received) the very arms and legs of the children in their wombs appeared, and were thruſt out; and one woman, *viz. Iſabel Beard*, being in the houſe of the Friers, and hearing the lamentable cry that was made, ran into the ſtreet, and was purſued by one of the Friers men unto the River, where she was barbarouſly murdred, and found the next day, with the childs feet appearing, and thruſt out of her wounds in her ſides. And further ſaith, that on the ſaid ſixt day of *January* there were murdred in the ſtreets of the Town of *Sligo*, theſe *British* Proteſtants following, *viz. William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles* his Son, *William Mapwell* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further ſaith (as she was credibly informed by the perſons before named) that the inhuman Rebels after their murders committed in the ſaid Goal, laid and placed ſome of the dead bodies of the naked murdred men upon the naked bodies of the women in a moſt immodeſt poſture; not fit for chaſt ears to hear: In which poſture they continued to be ſeen the next morning by thoſe *Irish* of the Town that came into the ſaid Goal, who were delighted and rejoyced in thoſe bloudy murders and uncivil actions: And that they of the *Irish* that came to bury them, ſtood up to the mid-leg in the bloud and brains of thoſe that were ſo murdered, who were carried out and caſt into a pit digged for that purpoſe, in the Garden of Maſter *Ricrofts*, Miniſter of *Sligo*. And she further ſaith, that whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fish, it did not for a long time after thoſe murders, afford any Fish at all: And this Deponent ſaw the Friers in their white habits, in great companies in proceſſion, going to ſanctifiy the water, caſting thereinto holy water: She ſaith alſo, that the Prior of the Covent of *Sligo*, after the murder of the ſaid woman in the River, fell frantick, and ran ſo about the Streets, and continued in that frenzy for three or four weeks; and ſaith, that of her ſix children, three were ſtarved and died, after her releaſe of impriſonment, which had been for eighteen months amongſt the Rebels.

Jurat 23. *Aprilis* 1644.
Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton.

Signum prædict. VVV. *Janæ Stewart* alias *Menize.*

Captain

The Province of Ulster.

Captain ANTHONY STRATFORD of *Charlmount* in the County of *Armagh* Esquire, aged threescore years otherrabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesties Commissioners, by virtue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the great Seal of *Ireland*: Deposeth and saith,

THat these Protestant Ministers following, about the beginning of the present Rebellion, were murdered in the Counties of *Tyron*, *Armagh*, viz. Master *John Matthew*, Master *Blyth*, Master *Hastings*, Master *Smith*, Master *Durragh*, Master *Birge*, and eight more, whose names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the Rebels permit to be buried; the names of such as murdred, this Examinant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is, that some of his, this Deponents servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him the relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this Deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of those Protestants that had escaped; and that he, this Deponent, was a prisoner amongst the Rebels at *Castle Caufield* near the place of those murders where he continued fourteen months. And further saith, That in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyron*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdred three hundred and sixteen Protestants, and between *Charlmount* and *Dungannon*, above four hundred, that were murdred and drowned at, and in the River by *Benburb*, the Black-water, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyron*, two hundred and six Protestants, and *Patrick Mac Crew* of *Dungannon* aforesaid, murdred thirty one in one morning, and two young Rebels, *viz. John Bezbrian*, *Hary*, murdred in the said County of *Tyron*, one hundred and fourty poor women and children that could make no resistance, and that the wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghall* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own hands murder fourty five. And this Deponent further saith, That one *Thomas King*, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caulfields* Company (which this Deponent commanded) he being enforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of their Provost Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every housholders name so murdered, and the number of the persons so murdred; which List this Deponent durst not keep: At *Portadown* there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about fourty, or such like numbers at once, with convoys, and there drowned: There was a *Lowgh* near *Loghgall* aforesaid, where were drowned above

two

two hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by ſeveral perſons, and particularly by the wife of Doctor *Hodges*, and two of her ſons, who were preſent and deſigned for the like end, but by Gods mercy that gave them favour in the eyes of ſome of the Rebels, they eſcaped; and the ſaid Miſtris *Hodges*, and her ſons gave the Deponent a Liſt of the names of many of thoſe that were ſo drowned, which the Deponent durſt not keep; and ſaith that the ſaid Doctor *Hodges* was imployed by Sir *Phelim O Neil* to make Powder, but he failing of his undertaking, was firſt half hanged, then cut down, and kept priſoner three months, and then murdred with forty four more within a quarter of a mile of *Charlmount* aforeſaid, (they being by *Tirlogh Oge O Neil*, brother to Sir *Phelim*, ſent to *Dungannon* priſoners, and in the way murdred) This Deponent was ſhewed the pit where they were all caſt in. At a Mill-pond in the Parish of *Killamen*, in the County of *Tyron*, there were drowned in one day three hundred; and in the ſame Parish, there were murdred of *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* one thouſand and two hundred, as this Deponent was informed by Maſter *Birge*, the late Miniſter of the ſaid Parish, who certified the ſame under his hand, which note the Deponent durſt not keep: The ſaid Maſter *Birge* was murdred three months after; all which murders were in the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion; but the particular times this Deponent cannot remember, neither the perſons by whom they were committed: This Deponent was credibly informed by the ſaid Serjeant and others of this Deponents ſervants (who kept company with the Rebels and ſaw the ſame) that many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scotiſh* Infants were hanged on a Clothiers tenterhook, and that they murdred a young fat *Scotiſh* man, and made Candles of his greaſe; they took another *Scotiſh* man and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his ſmall guts, the one end whereof they tyed to a tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his body, they then ſaying, That they would try whether a dogs or a *Scotch* mans guts were the longer.

Depoſed March 9. 1643. *before us*,
Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton. *Anthony Stratford.*

The Province of Ulster.

The EXAMINATION of *Robert Maxwell* Clerk, Arch-deacon of *Down*, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith *inter alia*,

THat by command from Sir *Phelim O Neil*, the Rebels dragged the Deponents brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell* out of his bed in the rage and height of a burning Feaver; and leſt any of his acquaintance or friends ſhould bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or ſaid; and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and ſixty pound which he owed him: And his wife *Griſſel Maxwell* being in Child-birth, the Child half born and half unborn, they ſtript ſtark naked, drove her about an arrows flight to the Blackwater, and drowned her: The like they did to another *Engliſh* woman in the ſame Parish, in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous then the roaſting of Maſter *Watſon* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And farther ſaith, that a *Scotiſh* woman was found in the *Glinwood*, lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her womb, cut out of the Cawl; and that Maſter *Starkey*, School Maſter at *Armagh*, he a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred years of age; they ſtript naked, cauſed two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewiſe naked: to ſupport him under each arm, he being not able to go of himſelf: And in that poſture carried them all three a quarter of a mile, to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the luſts of their eyes, and the cruelty of their hearts with the ſelf-ſame objects at the ſame time. At the ſiege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *Engliſh* Beaſt, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there rore till they had no more flesh upon their backs, ſo that ſometimes a Beaſt would live two or three days together in that torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdred *Hugh Echlin* Eſquire, they hanged and murdred all his *Iriſh* ſervants which had any way proved faithful or uſeful to him during this Rebellion: And as touching exemplary conſtancy in Religion, this Deponent ſaith, That *Henry Cowell* Eſquire, a gallant and well bred Gentleman, was murdred becauſe he would not conſent to marry a beaſtly Trull, *Mary Ny Neil*, a near Kinſwoman of Sir *Phelim's*: He was profered his life, without the *Blouſe*, if he would have gone to Maſs, but he choſe rather to die then to do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to Maſs to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he alſo refuſed it, ſaying, He ſaw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own. And this Deponent further ſaith, That very many of the *Britiſh* Pro-

Proteſtants the Rebels buried alive, and took great pleaſure to hear them ſpeak unto them as they digged down old ditches upon them; except thoſe whom they thus buried, they buried none of the Proteſtants, neither would permit any who ſurvived to perform that duty for them: And further ſaith, That the Rebels would ſend their Children abroad in great Troops, eſpecially near unto *Kinnard*, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat dead mens bodies about their privy members, until they beat, or rather thraſhed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for ſuch ſervice as it were in triumph. And further ſaith, that if any women were found dead lying with their faces downwards, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks reſort unto them, cenſuring all parts of their bodies, but eſpecially ſuch as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abuſed ſo many ways, and ſo filthily, as chaſte ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the Proteſtants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half-dead would ſo leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which ſometimes were granted, ſometimes denied.

A young youth having his back-bone broken, was found in a field having like a Beaſt eaten all the graſs round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better Paſture, ſo that in thoſe moſt bloudy and execrable wretches, that of the holy Ghoſt is clearly verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty:* And further ſaith, That the Rebels themſelves told him, this Deponent, that they murdred 954 in one morning, in the County of *Antrim*; and that beſides them, they ſuppoſed that they killed above 1100 or 1200 more in that County: They told him likewiſe, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* killed about one thouſand in the County of *Down*, beſides three hundred killed near *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both thoſe Counties.

At Sir *Phelims* return from *Liſnegavy* ſome of the Souldiers forced about 24 *Britiſh* into a houſe, where they burned them alive, whoſe terrible out-crys they deſired very much to imitate and expreſs unto others: And ſaith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewiſe report, that he killed 600 *Engliſh* at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither man, woman nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong* in the County of *Tyron*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the ſeveral Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Atcheſon*, *John Hamilton*, Eſquire, the Lord *Cauſield*, and the Lord *Mount Norrice*: and ſaith alſo, that there were above two thouſand of the *Britiſh* murdred for the

moſt part in their own houſes, whereof he was informed by a *Scotchman*, who was in thoſe parts with Sir *Phelim*, and ſaw their houſes filled with their dead bodies. In the *Glinwood* towards *Dromore*, there were ſlaughtred, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve thouſand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the County of *Down*: The number of the people drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diverſly reported according as men ſtaid amongſt the Rebels, this Deponent who ſtaid as long as any, and had better intelligence then moſt of the *Engliſh* amongſt them, and had beſt reaſon to know the truth, ſaith, There were (by their own report) 190 drowned with Maſter *Fullerton*: At another time they threw 140 over the ſaid Bridge; at another time 36 or 37 and ſo continued drowning more or fewer, for ſeven or eight weeks, ſo as the feweſt which can be ſuppoſed there to have periſhed, muſt needs be above 1000 beſides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lowgh* of *Montjoy*, beſides thoſe who periſhed by the ſword, fire and famine, in *Coubraſſil*, and the *Engliſh* plantations adjacent: Which in regard there eſcaped not 300 out of all thoſe quarters, muſt needs amount to many thouſands.

Near unto the Deponents houſe thirty ſix perſons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one time, and drowned. At another time ſix and fifty, Men, Women and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponents Houſe; and at ſeveral other times ſeveral other numbers; Beſides thoſe that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Tinon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was drowned, ſlaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about ſix hundred. The Deponent might add to theſe many thouſands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongſt the Rebels, being burned, with his Houſe, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himſelf to the number in groſs, which the Rebels themſelves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithſtanding will come ſhort of all that have been Murdred in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thouſand now wanting of the *Britiſh* within the very precinct of *Ulſter*.

The numbers of *Britiſh* deſtroyed within the Province of *Ulſter*.

And this Deponent further ſaith, That it was common Table-talk amongſt the Rebels, that the Ghoſt of Maſter *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the moſt of thoſe who were thrown over *Portadown-bridge*; were daily and nightly ſeen to walk upon the River, ſometimes ſinging of Pſalms, ſometimes brandiſhing of naked Swords, ſometimes ſcrieching in a moſt hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the ſame at firſt, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but ſaith that divers of the Rebels aſſured him that they themſelves did dwell

near

near to the ſame River, and being daily affrighted with thoſe apparitions, but eſpecially with their horrible ſcrieching, were in concluſion inforced to remove further into the Country: Their own Prieſts and Friers could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent Objected unto them; ſaid it was but a cunning ſlight of the Devil to hinder this great work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himſelf lived within thirteen miles of the Bridge, and never heard any man ſo much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howſoever, he obligeth no mans faith, in regard he ſaw it not with his own eyes; otherwiſe he had as much certainty as morally could be required of ſuch a matter.

And this Deponent further ſaith; That the degnerate *Pale-English*, were moſt cruel amongſt the *British* Proteſtants, being beaten from their own Lands; and were never ſatisfied with their bloud, until they had in a manner ſeen the laſt drop thereof; affrighting Sir *Phelim O Neil* every day with their numbers, and perſwading him, That whileſt they (meaning the Proteſtants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor ſafety for him. It was eaſy to ſpur on the cowardly and bloudy Rebel; yet no ſooner were the Proteſtants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer *Irish* took preſent poſſeſſion, of their Lands and Houſes; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled; and ſaid, Sir *Phelim* had not kept promiſe with them; howſoever, they were forced to ſwallow thoſe and many other injuries.

And further ſaith, That he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himſelf, and not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one night, fifteen able ſtrong men with his Skein, they being diſarmed, and moſt of their feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve years of age, killed two women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed ſeven men and women, of her fellow *English* Tenants, in one morning. And it was very uſual in all parts, for the Rebels children to murder the Proteſtants children; and ſometimes with Lath-ſwords heavy, and well ſharpned, they would venture upon people of riper years, cruelties not to be believed, if there were not ſo many eye-witneſſes of them.

Depoſed 22. of Auguſt, 1642.
Henry Brereton. *William Aldrich.*

The Province of Lemster.

The EXAMINATION of Dame *Ann Butler* wife unto Sir *Thomas Butler* of *Rathealin* in the County of *Catherlagh* Knight, duly ſworn; *Depoſeth*,

THat after *Walter Bagnal* of *Dunlickny*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Eſquire, *Walter Butler* with a great number of men, had in a violent manner entred this Deponents Houſe, they not able to reſiſt, they ſet ſtrict guard over this Deponent, her Husband and family, and brought them from their ſetled dwelling unto *Loghlin-bridge*, where they kept her ſelf, and Husband and Children in reſtraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them with ſtrict guard to the Town of *Kilkenny*; and there were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot* did uſe all means poſſible to move the ſaid Lord, to put this Deponent her Husband and family to death and torture; alledging that they were rank Puritan Proteſtants, and deſperately provoking, uſed theſe words, ſaying, There's but one way, we or they, meaning Papiſts or Proteſtants, muſt perish. To which malicious provocation the ſaid Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further depoſeth, That *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an *Engliſh* Proteſtant, and his ſervant, with his wife and four children, and one *Richard Taylor* of *Loghlin-bridge*, his wife and children, *Samuel Hatter* of the ſame, his wife and children, an *Engliſh*-woman, called *Jone*, and her daughter, and was credibly informed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had ſeveral times been an eye-witneſs of theſe lamentable ſpectacles, that she had ſeen to the number of five and thirty *Engliſh* going to execution, and that she had ſeen them when they were executed, their bodies expoſed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded ſo much as burial. Another *Engliſh*-woman who was newly delivered of two children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and ſickneſs, to riſe from her childbed, and took the infant that was left alive, and dashed his brains againſt the ſtones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: and having a piece of Salmon to dinner, Maſter *Brian Cavanaghs* wife being with her, she the ſaid Miſtris *Cavanagh* refuſed to eat any part of the Salmon, and being demanded the reaſon, she ſaid she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, becauſe she had ſeen ſeveral infants bodies, and other Carkaſes of the *Engliſh* taken up in the Wear.

And this Deponent ſaith, that Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Finyhinch*, had hanged and put to death all the *Engliſh*

English that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further Depoſeth, That she being in *Kilkenny* a priſoner in reſtraint, and having intelligence that ſome of her own Cattel were brought thither by *Walter Bagnal*, she petitioned (being in great extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her ſome of her own Cattel for her relief; whereupon he recommended her ſuit to the Major and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, Becauſe she and her family were Proteſtants, and would not turn to Maſs, they should have no relief. *Jane Jones*, ſervant to the Deponent, did ſee the *English* formerly ſpecified, going to their execution; and as she conceived, they were about the number of five and thirty; and was told by *Elizabeth Homes* that there were fourty gone to execution.

Jurat. 7 *Septem.* 1642. *Ann Butler.*

John Watſon.

The EXAMINATION of *Joſeph Wheeler* of *Stancarty* in the County of *Kilkenny* Eſq; *Elizabeth*, the relict of Lieutenant *William Gilbert*, of Captain *Ridgways* Company; *Rebecca Hill*, the relict of *Thomas Hill*, late Lieutenant to the ſaid Captain *Ridgway*; *Thomas Lewis*, late of *Kilkenny* Gent. *Jonas Wheeler* of *Stancarty* aforeſaid, Gent. and *Patrick Maxwel* of the *Graige* in the ſame County Gent. ſworn and examined, Depoſe and Say,

The Province of Lemſter.

THat about *Eaſter* 1642. one *Richard Philips* and five others, who were old Garriſon Souldiers, then under the command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain on his Majeſties party, were, by the command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the end of a houſe in *Kilkenny*, hanged to death by that cruel and bloudy Rebel and Provoſt Marshal *Thomas Cantwell* of *Cantwell-court*, Eſquire, or ſome of his ſervants or Souldiers in his preſence, who would hardly ſuffer them to ſay their prayers after they were taken out of the priſon before they were put to death, thoſe poor men dying very patiently and reſolutely, in the maintenance of the Proteſtant Faith; but one of them becauſe he was an *Irish* man, was offered his life if he would turn Papiſt, but he choſe rather death, which he quickly had with the other five: And further ſaith, That a little before *Chriſtmas* 1641. Maſter *William Hill*, of the Abby of in the *Queens County*, Eſquire,

Esquire, and the said Lieutenant *Thomas Hill* his son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary Hill*, the wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Deponents were then and there sent for by the Lord *Mount Garrot*, and by him committed prisoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark dungeon bolted for two months, but were offered freedom if they would joyn with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused, and after the said Lord *Mount Garrot* was gone into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there to rise unto Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown* in the *Queens County* Esquire, a Captain of Rebels, and his Souldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without resistance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable durance for some time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young Girle being sent from the Town of *Ballinekill* to see what was become of them, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then letten down, and after to be buried quick: And by report of one *Jone Grace* (that said she was an eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead body of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their heads and legs lay bare, until she came and covered them with earth, about a week after: And further saith, that they have credibly heard and believed, That the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz Patricks* house, to bring thither his goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely redelivered; he, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, possessing those goods, afterwards caused the said Merchant and his wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* also hanged Lieutenant *Keies* and his son, one *Hughes* a School-master, and divers other Protestants: And these Deponents further say, that Master *Edmond Butler*, eldest son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his second son, Captain *Garret Blanckfield*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and souldiers, to the number of 6 or 700 horse and foot a little before *Michaelmas* 1642. marched from *Balliragges* near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekill*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforenamed Ensign, *William Alfry* the younger, Master *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about sixty more of the *English Souldiers*, both the same parties joyned in Battel; but the *English Souldiers*, though fighting valiantly, and killing many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler*, a Captain among the rest) were at the last so overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said *Lieutenant Gilbert*, *William*

William Alfry, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and two other *English* Souldiers were absolutely slain, and the heads of all those seven carried to *Kilkenny* by those Rebels (their pipes for joy playing before them on hors-back) and on a market day which hapned to be on the next day following; those heads as triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and set upon the Market-cross, where the Rebels, but especially the women there, and amongst the rest *Elice Butler*, a reputed mother of several bastards, yet the daughter of the said *Mount Garrot*, stab'd, cut and slasht those heads, the said *Elice Butler* drawing her skein, slasht at the face of the said *William Alfry*, and hit him on the nose, and those that could but get a blow or stab at those heads, seemed to account themselves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the said *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him, bad him preach, saying, His mouth was open and wide enough, and one of those lewd virago's that had no weapons, struck one of the heads so with her hand, that the same night her hand grew black and blew, rankled, and she was extreamly lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameness and the swelling thereof growing to an issue, is like to continue till she die: and another of those women that with great rejoycing went and saw those heads, did quickly after the sight thereof fall into such an astonishment and distraction, that for three or four days after she could not sleep nor rest, but cryed out that still she saw those heads before her eyes, which heads being said by the Rebels to be the heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Christian Burial, but buried without the City in a cross high-way all together in a hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their Spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their burial, and the heads themselves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) set up a long stick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: And after and from that time, the rebellious roguish Boys, took up, and frequently used an Oath, *By the Cross of the seven devils heads buried on Saint James Green.* And further say, that upon the testimony of a roguish Boy, that an *English* man that was a Maulster to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had said, *He would believe the Devil as soon as the Pope*; the cruel Rebel, the Provost Marshal *Cantwell* afore-named, suddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further saith, That one *Uncil Grace*, and divers other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same Church of the Chalices, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in Saint *Patricks* Church, and digged the Tombes and graves in the Churches

in *Kilkenny*, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make Gunpowder: And these Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took 25 Protestants, men, women and children, and pretending and promising to them a Convoy to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the way, in a Wood near *Newross*, and that the Rebels half hanged five more Protestants at *Balliragget*, by the command of the said Captain *Edward Butler*, and the said *Thomas Cantwell* the Marshal, and letting them down again before they were dead suffered them somewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And these Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwel* further say, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor *English* mans wife that went out to gather sticks, at a place about two miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwel* further say, That a poor woman and two children, she being the wife of one *Harvy* of *Ballinekil*, coming to *Kilkenny* about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there assaulted and set upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited, and drawn with dogs, cruelly stab'd with skeins, and so miserably used, that one of the children died presently (having the guts pluckt out): and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwel* further saith, That there were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone* and his wife and his son, *William Valentine*, *Robert Pym* and his wife, one of their children of a year and a half old, and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his wife, who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after she was hanged, so as the child fell out of the cawl alive; *Walter Sherly*, Mistris *Joan Salter* an ancient Widow, one *John* a servant to *Stone* aforenamed; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Foreſtal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forreſtal* of *Tinyhinch*, and the eldest son of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz Geraldin* of *Knockeen* aforesaid; and divers others whom she cannot name, all of the County of *Caterlagh*; which said *Robert Pym* after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and struck his hand upon his breast saying, *Christ receive my soul*, and with those words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of those poor Protestants at *Goran*, by name *Friſtoram Robinſon*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thrust him through with darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried him quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* further saith, That one old *English* Protestant, who was a Shepheard, and his wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownel*, the Rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his wife perceiving breath in her Husband, said unto him, *Oh joy you are alive yet*; which when some of the Rebels over-hearing, hanged him out-right, and dragged

him

him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife desiring them to hang her too, but they refused. And saith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? They answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have fourty thousand to come to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring ammunition and arms enough, and all things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*. And the Deponent *Elizabeth Gilbert* further saith, That she heard one *James Eustace*, a servant to the Rebel Colonel *Cullen*, say publickly in Master *Joseph Wheelers* house in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own desires they would bring in a forreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer* a Protestant was (as his wife told this Deponent) murdred in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

EXAMINATIONS touching the Apparitions at *Portnedown-bridge*, within the Province of ULSTER.

James Shaw of Market-hill in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, deposeth, That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the time of this Deponents restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and it was a common report that all those that lived about the bridge of *Portnedown*, were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there of some spirits or visions for revenge, as that they durst not stay but fled away thence; so as they protested, affrighted to *Market-hill*, saying, They durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those cries and spirits, but took grounds and made creats in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*. *Jurat. Aug.* 14. 1642.

Joan the relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth and saith, That she hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Connellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the bloud of some of those that were knockt in the heads, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedown-bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of men, sometimes of women, breast-high above the water,

at or near *Portnedown*, which did moſt extreamly and fearfully ſcriech and cry out for vengeance againſt the *Irish* that had murdred their bodies there; and that their crys and ſcrieches did ſo terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durſt ſtay nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongſt the Rebels there, and that it paſſed for a truth amongſt them, for any thing ſhe could ever obſerve to the contrary. *Jurat. Jan.* 1. 1643.

Katherine the relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*; Carpenter, ſworn and examined, ſaith, That about the 20 of *December*, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did moſt barbarouſly drown at that time one hundred and eighty Proteſtants, men, women and children in the River at the Bridge of *Portnedown*; and that about nine days afterwards, ſhe ſaw a viſion or ſpirit in the ſhape of a man, as ſhe apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright breaſt-high, with hands lifted up, and ſtood in that poſture there, until the latter end of Lent next following; about which time ſome of the *English*-Army marching in thoſe parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent) ſaw that Spirit or viſion ſtanding upright, and in the poſture aforementioned; but after that time the ſaid Spirit or viſion vaniſhed and appeared no more, that ſhe knoweth. And ſhe heard, but ſaw not, that there were other Viſions and Apparitions, and much ſcrieching and ſtrange noyſe heard in that *River* at times afterwards. *Jurat. February* 24. 1643.

Elizabeth the wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, depoſeth & ſaith, That ſhe and other women, whoſe Husbands were murdred, hearing of divers Apparitions and Viſions which were ſeen near *Portnedown-bridge*, ſince the drowning of her Children, and the reſt of the Proteſtants there, went unto the Bridge aforeſaid about twilight in the evening; then and there upon a ſudden there appeared unto them a Viſion or Spirit, aſſuming the ſhape of a woman, waſt-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and cloſed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes ſeemed to twinkle, and her ſkin as white as ſnow; which ſpirit ſeemed to ſtand ſtraight up in the water, often repeated the word *Revenge*, *Revenge*, *Revenge*; whereat this Deponent and the reſt being put into a ſtrong amazement and affright walked from the place. *Jurat. January* 29. 1642.

Arthur

Arthur Culm of *Clowoughter* in the County of *Cavan*, Esquire, deposeth, That he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty women and young children and seven men flung into the River of *Belterbert*, and when some of them offered to swim for their lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the heads with poles; the same day they hanged two women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O Rely* the then Sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of those said persons, for that he saw him write two Notes which he sent to *Turbert* by *Bryan Rely*, upon whose coming these murders were committed: And those persons who were present also affirmed, that the bodies of those thirty persons drowned did not appear upon the water till about six weeks after past; as the said *Rely* came to the Town, all the bodies came floting up to the very Bridge; those persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his protection, when the rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth Price wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeth, That Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* suffered his Souldiers, the Rebels, to kill Master *Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, and several other Protestants; and he the said Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* on his death-bed was so much affrighted with apprehension that the said Master *Turge* so slain, was still in his presence, as that he commanded no Protestants from that time should be slain, but what should be killed in battel; and after his death, Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* his brother, would have observed his directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis* the young Lord of *Evah* and *Monk Crely* were earnest to have all the rest of the Protestants put to death.

Master *George Creighton*, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, among other particulars in his Examination, That divers women brought into his house a young woman almost naked, to whom a Rogue came upon the way, these women being present, and required her to give him her mony or else he would kill her, and so drew his sword; her answer was, You cannot kill me unless God give you leave, and his will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three times at her naked body with his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women, who were by and saw what they reported.

UPon the view of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the *Rebels* throughout all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloudy executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the *British* and Protestants there planted. It is most true that in *Lemster* and *Munster* (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were not generally so bloudy, neither did they begin their work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* & *Conaught*. The ill success of the enterprise upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a stand and caused them to take up new Counsels; But when they had once declared themselves, they did in very few days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great numbers of them even stark naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves passage for *England*, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, beinginhumanely denied any kind of relief in those Towns under the command of the *Rebels*. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid cruelties used towards the *British* either in their bloudy Massacres, or mercileſs despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in most parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable resistance against their fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the power of his Majesties Arms to make any inrodes into the Counties possessed by the *Rebels*: A circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, Though it be also true that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private intereſt, or such as they kept in prison, were not put to the sword, until the *Rebels* in the several encounters they had with his Majesties Forces suffered loss of their men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such *British*, whether men, women, or children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their madness, fury, and most implacable malice, did after the manner of bruit Beasts transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon trust

The cruelties acted by the *Irish* upon the *British* were before any provocation given them.

The cruelty of the *Irish* in murdring those Protestants which remained among them when at any time they received any loss by the *English* Forces.

truſt from perſons of good quâlity and credit, who were long priſoners among them.

I find in one part of Doctor *Maxwels* Examination (which I thought not fit wholly to inſert, becauſe it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpoſe for which it is formerly mentioned) That about *May* 1642. when the *Scotish* Army under the command of General Major *Monro* had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Irish* out of thoſe Parts with the ſlaughter of many of them; Sir *Phelim O Neal* cauſed 5000 *Britiſh* whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyron*, and other Parts of the North, to be moſt miſerably murdred in the ſpace of three days: *James Shaw* of Market Hill in the County of *Armagh*, depoſeth and ſaith, That during the time this Deponent was in reſtraint, and ſtayed among the *Rebels*, he obſerved and well knew that the greateſt part of the *Rebels* in the County of *Armagh* went to beſiege the Caſtle of *Augher* where they were repulſed, and divers of the *Rebels* of the *Sept* of *O-Neals* ſlain: In revenge whereof, the grand *Rebel* Sir *Phelim O Neal* gave direction and warrant to one *Mulmory Mac Donel*, a moſt cruel and mercileſs *Rebel*, to kill all the *Engliſh* and *Scotish* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilcluney*, whereupon the ſaid *Rebel* did murder 27 *Scotish* & *Engliſh* Proteſtants within Musket ſhot of this Deponents own houſe; and further ſaith that in thoſe three Parishes there have been before that and ſince, by killing, drowning, and ſtarving, put to death above 1500 Proteſtants within the ſaid three Parishes.

William Fitz-Gerald a Clerk, of Irish birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, and there reſiding when this Rebellion brake out, depoſeth and ſaith, That all places of the North where Sir *Phelim O Neal* under the name of General of the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with murders of the Proteſtants: And that when at *Augher*, *Liſnagarue*, or any other places the *Rebels* received loſs of their men, thoſe that eſcaped, exerciſed their cruelty upon the Proteſtants every where at their return: And that about the firſt of *May* 1642. when Sir *Phelim O Neal* had notice of the taking of the *Newry* by his Majeſties Forces, he retired that night in all haſt to the Town of *Armagh*, and the next day as well the Town of *Armagh* as the Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houſes in the Country round about together with all proviſions were fired by the *Rebels*; and many men, women and children murdred as well in the Town as in the Country round about.

There is much more to be ſaid on this ſubject, but I ſhall forbear to take further into many other foul circumſtances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and deteſtable. I ſhall now return to take up the publick affairs of the State, where I left them in the hands of the

the Lords Justices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impestred with strangers by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill-affected persons that daily made repair thereunto; They issued out several other Proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

Some Troops of hors and Regiments of foot raised by the Lords Justices and Council.

Sir *Henry Tichborn* being dispatched with his Regiment of foot to *Tredagh* as is formerly mentioned, the Lords Justices took further order for the present raising of other foot Compânies; as likewise some Troops of hors which might serve for the defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in most imminent danger by reason of the approaches made by the Forces of the *Rebels*. Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stript *English*, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the Town, and upon the engagements of the State procured cloaths for them. The Lord *Lambert* to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of an other Regiment, began also to get some men together. The Earl of *Ormond* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop consisting of 100 Curassiers compleatly armed; Sir *Thomas Lucas* who had long commanded a Troop of hors in the *Low-Countrys*, and Captain *Armstrong* sometime after, yet very seasonably came thither: Both of them had mony impressed, Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armstrong* to raise a new Troop; Captain *Tarner* also arrived soon after at *Dublin*, he was sent out of *England* by the Lord Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 Hors, many persons then living in the Town being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop: Not long after *Colonel Graford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the *Prince Elector* then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, under whom he had formerly the command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*: The Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear arms within the City of *Dublin*; none were to be admitted into it but Protestants, and out of them they made choice not onely of the Souldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing of the disorders daily appearing within the City, and restraining the ill-affections of the Papists there inhabiting, they made Sir *Charles Coot* Governour of the City, and gave him an allowance of 40 S. *per diem* for the present. Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves in getting their men together under their several commands, and in training them up to the use of their arms: and the

Sir *Charles Coot* made Governour of the City of *Dublin*.

Co

Governour of the Town taking ſtrict order for conſtant Watches within, and Guards without to reſtrain the repair of all ſuſpicious and ill-affected perſons: I ſhall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the Parliament according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Juſtices, which ſome of the ill-affected members of both Houſes endeavoured to make uſe of for the raiſing of further troubles.

The adjournment of the Parliament.

In the Month of *Auguſt* before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17 of *November* next enſuing: Now upon the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy for the ſurpriſe of his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the ordinary place of meeting for both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords finding that the fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the Kingdom, Reſolved as a matter highly tending to the ſafety and ſecurity of the City and Caſtle to prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation then ſet out, until the 24 of *February*. But two or three days before ſuch of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of courſe in their ſeveral Houſe for declaring the ſaid Prorogation, it was generally noiſed abroad that the putting off the Parliament was extreamly ill taken by the Popish Members of both Houſes. Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* Weſt, and highly complaining of the injury which (he ſaid) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expreſſing their loyal affections to his Majeſty, and ſhewing their deſires to quell this dangerous Rebellion, and that they had reaſon to reſent it ſo far, as to complain to the King thereof, as a point of high injuſtice; His Lordship having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was preſently ſent for, and he uſed the ſame language in effect there, though with much modeſty.

The Popish party much diſcontented at it.

Hereupon the Lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reaſonable in them to condeſcend to their deſires: Some were of opinion that it was fit to diſannul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the firſt adjournment made the beginning of *Auguſt*. They urged the very ill condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that thoſe of the Counties of *Wiclow* and *Wexford*, as well as ſome other Counties in *Conaght* had already joyned themſelves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure ſo irritate the *Pale*, and have ſuch an influence into *Munſter* as might raiſe them into Arms, and ſo put the whole Kingdom into a general combuſtion. Others of the Board Voted ſtrongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their opinion upon theſe reaſons firſt, That it would highly trench upon the gravity and wiſdom

of the Board to alter a resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious debate and publickly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; That it would be of most dangerous consequence to bring so great a multitude of people to the City in such dangerous times, that the Protestants and well-affected Members of both Houses were for the most part either destroyed, dispersed, or so shut up as they could not repair to the present meeting, and that therefore the *Irish* would be superiour in number and voices, and so wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that considering the small Forces then in the City, such great numbers as might take occasion under colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and disturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and so both joyning together they might easily destroy the State with the poor remainders of the *English* Nation in these Parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour so to attemper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse, might in some measure rest satisfied therewith. And therefore after a long debate of all particular circumstances, they came at length to this resolution, that the Earl of *Ormond*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby* three Members of the Board, should have a meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and some others of the most active and powerful Members of the House of Commons, and that they should let them know from the Lords, that they have understood of their good affections and desires to do somewhat in the House that might tend towards the suppression of this present Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howsoever they could by no means remove absolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their satisfaction as to limit it to a shorter time, and that at present they would give them leave to sit one whole day in case they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear Protestation against the *Rebels*: As also, that they should have liberty if they pleased to make choice of some Members of their own House to send down to Treat with the *Rebels* about laying down of Arms: And for their grievances that their Lordships would with all readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to his Majesty for a speedy redress: All this was accordingly performed, The meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork* House; Those of the House of Commons seemed at first to be extreamly troubled when they found there was no possibility of altering the present Prorogation: But upon a further debate when they came to understand how ready the Lords were to yield to their satisfaction, and that the time of the Prorogation should be shortned, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the Protestation in such

such full and ample manner as was desired; and that they would fall immediately upon it and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17 of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament which was held in the usual place of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*: And for the better security of the place as well as of the persons of those that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketiers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but such care taken that they should carry themselves so free from giving any offence, as no manner of umbrage might be taken at their attendance there. The Houses were both very thin, there were only in the House of Peers some few *English* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and some two or three Bishops. In the House of Commons, they took into their consideration upon their first meeting the framing of the Protestation against the *Rebels*. But those of the Popish party spake so ambiguously, and handled the matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the name of *Rebels*: so as they sent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Protestation against them, which being in their House taken into debate, it was strongly contested by the Protestant Lords that they should be stiled *Rebels*, but that as stiffely opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both which gave a kind of accommodation, saying, They had *Rebellously* and *Traiterously* raised Arms; and so both parties being reasonably satisfied, the Protestation was drawn up and returned back to the House of Commons in this Tenour as followeth,

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled.

WHereas the happy and peaceable Estate of this Realm hath been of late, and is still interrupted by sundry persons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Trayterously and Rebelliously raised Arms, have seized upon some of His Majesties Forts and Castles, and dispossessed

many of His Majesties faithful Subjects, of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane Outrages, and Acts of Hostility within this Realm.

The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal Rebellious Proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare that they the said Lords and Commons from their hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the Rights of his Majesties Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and Safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all forrein Princes, Potentates, and other persons, and Attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Suitors to His Majesty for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his Majesty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm shall be set down; The said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes suppress them, and their Attempts, in such a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his most Excellent Majesty, or of his Majesties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per Phil. Percival.

Cleric. Parliament.

Both Houses of Parliament sate two days, and the time of the Prorogation being shortned unto the 11 of *Jan.* The Lords made choice of the Lord Viscount *Costelo* to go into *England*, to carry over their desires to his Majesty, concerning the means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And besides those instructions formerly men-

mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popish Lords ſome, more private which were to negotiate the ſtaying ſuch Forces as were intended to be ſent out of *England* for that end.

Both Houſes joyned together to appoint certain Lords and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons to go down to the Northern *Rebels*, to underſtand the cauſe of their riſing in Arms; and referred them to the Lords Juſtices for their inſtructions, which accordingly they received together with a Commiſſion under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper root then was at that time diſcovered; this Commiſſiõn was of little operation, and the intended Treaty ſoon vaniſhed. The Northern *Rebels* were then ſo puffed up with their late victories over the poor ſurprized, unreſiſting *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, and had ſo deeply drenched their hands in the bloud of thoſe innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a moſt barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament together with the Letter ſent unto them, and returned a moſt ſcornful Anſwer, fully expreſſing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down Arms, or entertaining any overtures towards an Accommodation.

The Houſes of Parliament ſend to Treat with the *Rebels*.

Within few dayes after the adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Coſtelo* accompanied with the Lord *Taffe* imbarqued for *England*, but by a moſt impetuous ſtorm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their papers were ſeized upon by directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their perſons committed unto ſafe cuſtody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the ſame time, and certainly upon the ſame errand: When the unhappy breach began firſt betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majeſty thought fit to retire to *York*, thoſe two Lords found means to make an eſcape, and all three conſtantly followed the Court, where in thoſe high diſtempers that afterwards hapned in *England*, they eaſily found means to ingratiate themſelves at Court, and had the opportunity to do thoſe good offices for their Country-men which brought on the Ceſſation of Arms with them in due time.

The Lords Juſtices and Counil by their Letters bearing date about the 20 of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full account of the ſtate of the Kingdom, then they could any ways do at the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their preſent affairs they moved that the ſupplies of men, mony, Commanders and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all ſpeed ſent over unto them, and that his Lordship would preſently repair hither in his own perſon to undertake the management of the war. About the tenth of the Month of *Novem-*

Letters written to the Lord Lieutenant.

ber, their Lordships received an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25 of *October*; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordships, he had acquainted both Houses of Parliament with them; that he had also sent to his Majesty still continuing at *Edenborough* in *Scotland*, to represent the condition of their affairs, and that he understood his Majesty had received some advertisements out of the North of *Ireland* of the present Rebellion there: His Lordship also farther let them know, that his Majesty had referred the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war, that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted and had designed for their present supplies the sum of 50000 l. and had taken order for making of all further Provisions necessary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his said Letters unto the Lords Justices, by whose command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, *November* 12. 1641. Where followeth, being intituled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THe Lords *and* Commons *in this present Paliament, being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in* Ireland, *by the Treacherous and wicked Instigation of* Romish Priests *and* Jesuites, *for the Bloudy Massacre and Destruction of all Protestants living there, and other his Majesties Loyal Subjects of English bloud, though of the Romish Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Testimony of their fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty, and the Crown of* England, *from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of setting up the* Popish Religion) *Have thereupon taken into their serious Consideration, how those mischievous Attempts might be most speedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour, Safety,*

Safety and Intereſt of this Kingdom, are moſt nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to ſerve his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of this wicked Rebellion, in ſuch a way, as ſhall be thought moſt effectual, by the Wiſdom and Authority of Parliament: and thereupon have Ordered and Provided for a preſent Supply of Mony, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, to be ſent from England, *being the full proportion deſired by the* Lords Juſtices, *and his Majeſties Council reſident in that Kingdom, with a Reſolution to add ſuch further Succours, as the neceſſity of thoſe Affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved of providing Arms, and Munition, not onely for thoſe Men, but likewiſe for his Majeſties faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with Store of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, as there ſhall be occaſion, and that theſe Proviſions may more conveniently be tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral Ports of this Kingdom, that is to ſay,* Briſtol, Weſtcheſter, *and one other in* Cumberland, *where the* Magazines, *and Store-houſes ſhall be kept for the Supply of the ſeveral parts of* Ireland. *They have likewiſe reſolved to be humble Mediators to His moſt Excellent Majeſty, for the encouragement of thoſe* Engliſh, *or* Iriſh, *who ſhall upon their own charges, raiſe any number of Horſe, or Foot, for his Service againſt the Rebels, that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in* Ireland, *according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the* Rebels *to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord* Lieutenant *of* Ireland, *or in his abſence to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his Majeſties gracious Pardon, to all ſuch as within a convenient time, (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices, and Council of that Kingdom) ſhall return to their due obedience; the greateſt part whereof, they conceive have been ſeduced upon falſe Grounds, by the cunning and ſubtle practices of ſome of the moſt*

most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such Rewards, *as shall be thought fit, and publisht by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the Persons, or bring in the Heads of such Traytors, as shall be personally named in any Proclamation published by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majesties loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God, and his Religion, and the great and eminent danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable* Treason *be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all readiness, bounty, and chearfulness to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for the common good of all.*

Jo Brown Cleric. Parliament.

Commission granted to the Earl of *Ormond*, to be Lieutenant General of the Forces in *Ireland*.

About the same time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he couldnot procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of *Ireland*, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own person, made the Earle of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said Earl did within few days after receive a Letter from his Majesty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of 20000 l. from the Parliament; the Coyn which arrived here was all in *Spanish* pieces of eight which went for 4 d. in a piece here more then in *England*, and this gain the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the transportation should make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived most seasonably even when all that little mony they had was quite spent in raising and paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly destitute of all means to draw in any contributions towards the relieving of their present necessities.

Commissions issued out for the Examination upon Oath of the losses of the *British*, and the cruelties exercised by the *Irish* upon them.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, great nnmbers of poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance, by the *Rebels*. Now

that

that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the several Provinces; The Lords Justices and Council thought fit to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy to take upon oath the several Examinations of all such persons, that having suffered by this present Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the Commission it self, a Copy whereof I have thought fit to insert,

CHarles *by the grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. To our well-beloved* Henry Jones *Dean of* Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, *and* John Watsons *Clerks, Greeting; Whereas divers wicked and disloyal people, have lately risen in Arms in several parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed and spoiled many of our good Subjects, British and Protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner; And for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the same; Know ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon Oath on the holy Evangelists (which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you to administer) as well all such persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein, what robberies and spoiles have been committed on them since the 22. of* October *last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies, on what day or night the said robberies or spoiles committed, or to be committed, were done: what Traiterous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then or*

at any other time uttered or committed by thoſe robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumſtances concerning the ſaid particulars and every of them: And you our ſaid Commiſſioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you or any two or more of you ſhall take as aforeſaid; and the ſame to return to our Juſtices and Council of this our Realm of Ireland, *under the hands and ſeals of any two or more of you as aforeſaid. Witneſs our right truſty and welbeloved Counſellours Sir* William Parſons *Knight and Baronet, and Sir* John Borlace *Knight, our Juſtices of our ſaid Realm of* Ireland: Dublin 23. *of* December *in the ſeventeenth year of our Raign.*

Carleton.

The Commiſſioners above nominated, did very ſeriouſly addreſs themſelves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulneſs; and have ſo well performed the charge impoſed upon them as that by ſeveral Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good eſtates were diſcovered to be the chief Actors in the depredations of the *Britiſh*, and to have committed many moſt horrid murders and other notorious cruelties, which through their induſtry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Poſterity, and wrapt up in oblivion. The like Commiſſions were in a ſhort time after ſent into *Munſter* and *Ulſter*: In the Province of *Munſter*, the Commiſſioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high concernment were taken by vertue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed and not returned up according as is required by the ſaid Commiſſions.

A weekly Faſt appointed by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the Lords Juſtices and Council conſidering the miſerable deſolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation ſet forth in print, give ſtrict charge and command; That upon every friday a publick and religious faſt ſhould be devoutly and piouſly obſerved, in and thorow the whole City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, by all his Majeſties people therein, and that Divine Service and Sermons be celebrated and heard upon the ſaid day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the ſaid City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be prrformed as is expreſſed in the ſaid Proclamation, to the end that the ſevere wrath and indignation of Almighty God, may

may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded to such miserable persons as these Traytors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City.

The approach of the *Rebels* to *Tredagh*.

The Lords Justices and Council being advertised of the near approach of the *Rebels* to *Tredagh*, prepared to send down supplies both of men and munition, for the re-inforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed 600. Foot and a Troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in a readiness to March when an expres from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earle of *Ormond*, to let him know the *Rebels* had that day, being the 21. of *November*, appeared within sight of the Town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their Forces made a stand there, they sent down a Party of 1300. Foot to *Millifond*, the Lord *Moores* house, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but contrary to their expectation, they found there 24. Musketiers and 15. horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted. The horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out and made their passage thorow the midst of the *Rebels*, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped safe to *Tredagh*: The foot having refused to accept of the quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last man; they endured several assaults, slew 140. of the *Rebels*, before their powder failed them: and at last they gave up the place upon promise of quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepite men slain, the house ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Supplies both of horse and foot sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

Upon the receit of Sir *Henry Tichbourn*'s Lettrr, the Lords presently took order for the marching away of the six hundred men, together with a Troop of Horse towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27 of *November*, and such was the negligence of the Captains and disorders of the Souldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than *Swoords* a Village six miles distant from *Dublin*: The command of the foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Roper*, and of the horse to Sir *Patrick Weames*, who was appointed with 50. of the Earle of *Ormonds* Troop to march with those six Companies to *Tredagh*. The very day of their departure from *Dublin*, there was an advertizement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the *Rebels* were drawn on this side the River of the *Boine*, and attended with design to intercept their passage: Whereupon the Earle of *Ormond* by direction

rection from the Lords dispatched an expres to give them now upon their March notice thereof, and after to pas on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn* to let him know as much; and that the Recruits designed for the re-inforcement of his Garrison being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take special care for the securing of their passage. And next day his Lordship received an Answer from him of that Letter, with assurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and so lying that night eight miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what accident or upon what reason I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the Town where he stood with his men in a readines to march towards them: The men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to travel, and failing of provision by the way, which for their money they could not by any means ptocure from the Country people as they marched along, were very much discontented, and being somewhat tired with their journey went on next day, but in much disorder, so careles, and so little apprehensive of any danger, as some had arms, but no munition about them; others for their own ease committed the carriage of both to the Carts. As they passed through *Garmanston*, the Major went in to give a visit to the Lord of *Garmanston*. who told him that there were some Numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very night before (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readines to come and incounter the *English* Forces now upon their march. The Major had likewise other advertisements to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; He only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the passage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the bridge of *Julians* Town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a house within one quarter of a mile of the place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house, took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following turned up into a field on the left hand of the Lane, where by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the Rebels, till they were almost within Musketshot of them. The Major drew his men presently into Battalia, but the Horse (as some of the foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any

The defeat of the forces sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of Countemarch, all the men possessed as it were with a Pannick fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second shout given by the Rebels (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be perswaded to stand a charge, but betook themselves to their heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the execution.

Sir *Patrick Weames* without the loss of one Horse passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major with two of the Captains more, and about 100. of their men made an escape thither likewise: The other three Captains with all the rest of the Souldiers that were *English* were there cut off, they spared very few or none that fell into their hands, but such as were Irish, whose lives they preserved: The Armes of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Munition and Carriages: and so highly were the *Rebels* encouraged with this defeat given to his Majesties Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver, they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the mouths of those that were present) of that famous victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the inexperience of the *English* Commanders, and the disorders of the common souldiers, who were then but newly taken up and had never seen any service, contributed far more than any skill or courage shewed by the *Rebels*, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a loud shout. Besides, they were treble their number, and had for their leaders *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O-Rely*, the two last persons who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the Spanish Discipline, and were of greatest experience among them: they brought down a great part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, and as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great numbers of the ordinary churles of the *Pale* adjoyned themselves unto their men, and so made up a body sufficient to perform that service.

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very same day being munday the 29 of *November* at evening, to the Lords Justices as they sate in Couucil: It troubled them very much, and as it was a matter of great rejoycing among the Popish Inhabitants of the City, so it bred a general sorrow and consternation among the *English* and Protestants: It hapned in a very ill season, the late made Colonels

were but then in raising of their men: And such Companies as were compleated, were by the Lords the same day of the marching of the 600 men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot* into the County of *Wiclow*, for the repressing the insolencies of the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* towards the poor *English*, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory as soon as they had taken in the Kings Fort, in that County called *Carews* Fort, and possessed themselves of the chief places of strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there: He marched to the Town of *Wiclow*, where he caused some few men and one woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late spoiles committed most barbarously upon the *English* there, and the very cloaths of an *English* woman that was stripped, being found upon the back of that *Irish* woman that was there hanged. In his return *Luke Toole* with near a 1000 *Irish* under his command encountred him, but he quickly made them flie and take to the next Bogge with the loss of some few of their men: And so he returned with all possible speed to *Dublin*, the Lords having sent him notice of the late defeat given to the Forces sent to *Tredagh*: As soon as he arrived, he applyed himself very carefully to the securing of the Town, which now began to be more desperately threatned then ever, by the near approaches of the *Rebels*: And so great were the disorders then in the City, so inconsiderable the Forces raised, the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the Papists so highly raised in spirit and courage, as had the Commanders of the *Rebels* drawn those Forces together as they had in readiness on both sides the River of *Boyne* for the siege of *Tredagh*, and so marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the advantage of the present distractions, and forward affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them; They had in all humane probability made themselves Masters of the City, and might so straitly have begirt the Castle, as would within a very short time have endangered the surrender of it; But it pleased God to infatuate their Counsels: The strong opinion they had that they should presently carry *Tredagh*, and so possess themselves of all the Armes and Munition they had in that Town, caused them to fix their resolutions there, and to set up their rest upon the obtaining that place. In this as in many other wonderful acts of divine providence which I then observed with great admiration, it pleased God to appear even miraculously in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin* with the poor remainders of *English* and Protestants, who had there taken sanctuary.

Sir *Charles Coots* Expedition into the County of *Wiclow*.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, thought it high time to discover themselves and their affections to the cause: They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thoughts, but were as

as the ſeveral forementioned Examinations teſtifie, the firſt contrivers and bringers in of the Northern *Rebels* into this execrable Plot; they had now likewiſe drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not hope now much longer to walk under a maſk, and entertain the ſtate with further profeſſions of their loyalty; They had gotten a competent proportion of Armes and Munition out of his Majeſties ſtore into their own poſſeſſion: They ſaw now the Northern *Rebels* advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very conſiderable Forces to ſtrenghthen their Party, and by the late encounter and ſucceſsful victory they had therein, they pleaſed their fancies with confident conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themſelves by a publick conjunction in the common cauſe, and raiſing ſuch numbers of men and quantities of proviſion, as the plentiful circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would proſecute the war ſo happily begun and ſo ſucceſsfully managed hitherto.

The deſcription of the Lords and chief Gentlemen within the *Engliſh Pale*.

Theſe and ſeveral other conſiderations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did within very few dayes after the late deſeat ſolemnly proceed on to the actual conſummation of their long meditated revolt; For the manner, place, time, and all other circumſtances, I ſhall refer the Reader to this enſuing Relation given in upon Oath, *March* 1641. before Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Eſquire a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well eſteemed among them, one that was preſent at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their counſels and actions.

The manner of the conjunction of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale* with the Northern *Rebels*, expreſſed in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Eſqi

He depoſeth that ſome four or five dayes after the deſeat of the *Engliſh* ſouldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianſtown*, there iſſued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanſton* to the Sheriff of the County for a general meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Crofty*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the Country met, *viz.* The Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunſany*, the Lord of *Trimble ſtone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry Sir *Patrick Barnwall* Sir *Chriſtopher Bellow*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Bath* of *Acharn*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer; *Cuſake* of *Gormanſton*, *William Malone* of *Leſmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Linch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamſtown*, *Laurence Dondal* of *Athlumney*, *Nicholas Dondall* of *Brownſtown* this Examinates brother, and him this Examinate with a multitude of others, to the number of a 1000 perſons at the leaſt, whoſe names he this Examinate cannot for the preſent call to mind. And after about two or three hours ſpent upon the ſaid Hill of *Crofty* by the Lords and Gentry

These were some of the chief Leaders among the Northern *Rebels.*

Gentry aforesaid: There came towards them, Colonel *Mahowne*, *Philip O-Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a guard of Musketiers: And this Examinate saith, That as soon as the parties drew near unto the said Hill, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanstone*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what reason, they came Armed into the *Pale*; Unto which *Roger Moore* made present Answer, That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Armes, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesties Prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanston* desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences, and not the true gounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise, whether they had not some other private ends of their own; which being by all denyed, upon profession of their sincerity, his Lordship the Lord of *Gormanston* then told them: Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise joyn with you therein: unto which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whosoever should deny to joyn with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this Examinate saith, That after the agreement so made as aforesaid, There issued an other Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Turagh* about a week after; and accordingly there met at the same place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanston*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen aforenamed, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a multitude of others, and the work of that day was first to make Answer to a Summons made by the State for the calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*, which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanston*, and presented by his Lordship, and being perused by the said Council at Law was signed by the Lords.

In this manner was this great transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Lemster* and *Ulster*; *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelem O-Neale* stiles them in his *Characteresticall* Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O-Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanston* on the one side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now received, they had at length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it, and

and appeared the great publick inſtruments of this powerful union.

The endeavours of thoſe of the *Pale* to ſtrengthen their party againſt the power of the State.

The Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themſelves became ſo high and preſuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*: they now wholly applyed their endeavours to make ſuch preparatives towards the war, as might ſtrengthen their party, which as is now ſtood in conjuncture with the Northern *Rebels* they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be reſiſted by the inconſiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Juſtices and Council at *Dublin*: Several Gentlemen who in the ſeveral Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their obedience, and addreſſed themſelves and their Companies wholly to the ſervice of the *Rebels*. *Nicholas White* Eſquire Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Liſlip*, was the firſt that gave the example about the ſecond of *December*: but he carried the matter ſo handſomely, as his Company ran away to the *Rebels*, as he pretended, without his conſent or even his knowledge any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own diſability to hinder the ſame: But before it was poſſible to uſe any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the *Rebels*: Many of the other Captains deſired no ſuch fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themſelves and their Arms up to be diſpoſed as they ſhould direct without any further ſcruple or complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriouſly they were abuſed by the very great confidence repoſed in ſuch Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what courſe they began now to ſtear, and how they were reſolved to imploy their own Arms againſt them, they took ſuch order, and with ſuch celerity and diligence made ſtay of ſeveral of thoſe Arms, which were delivered out for the uſe of the *Pale*, as of the 1700. Arms diſtributed among the ſeveral Counties thereof they recovered again into their hands 950.

The Reaſons why the State ſummon'd the grand Council of all the Lords of the *Pale*, and others then in the City of *Dublin*.

And now by reaſon the Northern *Rebels* had ſettled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and ſo lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all entercourſe in the *Pale* was interrupted, the paſſages ſtopt up, and the Lords Juſtices and Council underſtood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to encreaſe through the near approach of the *Rebels* unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual affronts, and new ſcorns the State dayly received from them, their own want of ſtrength to repreſs their bold attemps, or to preſerve the poor *Engliſh* round about them out of their bloody hands, reſolved now in theſe their high extremities, to try the effects of thoſe large prote-

ſtations and great profeſſions of loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendring a moſt acceptable ſervice to his Majeſty and the ſtate here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords which reſided within any convenient diſtance of the City of *Dublin:* clearly and freely to repreſent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it imported them in reſpect of their own particular ſafety, as well as for the preſervation of the whole Kingdom, not only to contribute their beſt advice and counſel, but euen all the Forces they could any ways raiſe towards the beating of the Northern *Rebels* out of the *Pale.* Several Letters of Summons were accordiugly writ and ſent away to the Earle of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Garmanſton*, and the reſt of the Lords of the *Pale*; the tenour of them here enſueth.

A Copy of the letter written by the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lords of the *Pale.*

After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, for as much as we have preſent occaſion to confer with you, concerning the preſent eſtate of the Kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger: We pray and require your Lordſhip to be with us here on the eight day of this Month, at which time others of the Peers are alſo to be here: And this being to no other end, we bid your Lordship very heartily farewel. From his Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin *the third of* December, 1641.

Your very loving friends

To our very good Lord

George Earle of *Kildare.*

Willam Parſon. Johu Borlacy. Ormondoſſory. Ant Medenſis. R. Dillon. Ad. Loftus, Ge. Shirley. J. Temple. Rob. Meredith.

The like Letters *eodem die*, to theſe ſeveral Perſons following:

Earle of *Ormond.*	Viſ. *Gormanſton.*	Lord *Dunſany.*
Earle of *Antrim.*	Viſ. *Netervile.*	Lord *Slaine.*
	Viſ. *Fitzwilliam.*	Lord of *Hoath.*
Earle of *Fingale.*	Lo. *Trimbleſton.*	Lord *Lowth.*
		Lord *Lambert.*

Theſe

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick combination with the *Ulster Rebels* before mentioned, durst no more adventure their persons within the City of *Dublin*: But after their meeting at the Hill of *Crofty*, appointed an other meeting at the Hill of *Tarah*, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which as Mr. *Drowdall* testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanston* ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth:

May it please your Lordships,

WE have received your Letters of the third of this instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this instant, we give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisement, that Sir Charles Coot *Knight, at the Council Board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatned evils, or the safety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your Lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers; and resolute furtherers of his Majesties service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof to our best abilities, and so with the said tender of our humble service we remain.*

The *Answer* of the Lords of the *Pale* to the Lords Justices.

Your Lordships humble Servants,

Fingal, *Gormanston*, *Slane*, *Dunsany*, *Nettervill*, *Oliver Lowth*, *Trimblestown*.

To the Right Honourable out very good Lords the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*.

Dublin, *Decemb.* 7. Received 11. 1641.

In Anſwer to this Letter, the Lords Juſtices and Council, out of their unfeigned deſires to give unto thoſe Lords all due ſatisfaction, and to remove thoſe jealouſies and great miſunderſtanding now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of His Majeſties good Subjects of the *Romiſh* Religion, That they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any other utter at the Board or elſewhere, any ſuch ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe or reſolution to execute upon thoſe of their profeſſion, or upon any other a general Maſſacre or any Maſſacre at all, and that they never intended ſo to diſhonour his Majeſty and this State, or wound their own conſciences as to entertain the leaſt thought of acting ſo odious, impious, and deteſtable a thing upon any perſons whatſoever; and that if any proof can be made of any ſuch words ſpoken by any perſon whatſoever, that he ſhall be ſeverely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the ſaid Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the 17. day of *December*, that they might confer with them: And for the ſecurity of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of thoſe Noblemen, the word and aſſurance of the State, that they might then ſecurely and ſafely come unto them without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

A proclamation iſſued out by the Lords Juſtices and Council for the ſatisfaction of the Lords of the *Pale*.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Juſtices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northern *Rebels*. By the Examinations taken of ſome *Engliſh*, who made their eſcape out of thoſe parts, the news of their ſolemn contract and Aſſociation before mentioned was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough diſcerned the main obſtruction in their coming, the cauſe of their tergiverſations, and what good reaſon they had to find out excuſes to *palliate* their *diſloyalty*. They then expected no other fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldneſs and confidence by way of Anſwer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Juſtices wherein they pretend themſelves ſo juſtly affrighted with Sir *Charles Coot*'s ſeverity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themſelves within the confines of his Government: They heavily impoſe upon him the inhumane acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of *Wiclow*, the Maſſacre of *Santry* and the burning of Mr. *Kings* houſe and his whole ſubſtance at *Clantarfe*, and with a little kind of cunning, they ſeem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the Lords Juſtices to Sir *Charles Coot*, and thereupon deſire no ſiniſter conſtruction may be made of their ſtay,

Several pretences of the Lords of the *Pale* to colour their refuſal to repair to the Lords Juſtices and Council.

and

and that they may have ſome Commiſſioners appointed to confer with them, and ſo conclude with ſome profeſſions of their Loyalty and readineſs to give their advices for the advancement of his Majeſties ſervice, and the common peace of the Kingdom.

The great indulgence uſed by the Lords Juſtices and Councel towards the Lords of the *Pale*.

This was an Anſwer, ſuch as might juſtly be expected to come from perſons ſo deeply now involved in the guilt of ſo high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their ſhifts, and enforced to take up ſuch fond excuſes, and imaginary pretences for their diſloyalty: For they could not in their own conſciences, but be moſt ſenſible of the very great indulgence uſed by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in ſeveral particulars to manifeſt the great confidence they had in their good affections: They had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealouſie. They had forborn the doing ſome acts of hoſtility for a time upon ſome *Rebels* among them, becauſe they would not give them any the leaſt cauſe of complaint. And however, it appeared by the Examination of *Mac Mahone* and ſeveral others, that they were privy to the firſt plot, yet the Lords proceeded with ſo much caution and tenderneſs towards them, hoping that now the Conſpirators had failed in the main part of their deſign which was the ſurpriſal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, & draw them into a juſt concurrence with them, for the preſervation of the Kingdom out of the hands of thoſe bloody Northern *Rebels*, who in the beginning were the only appearers in the cauſe: But all was to no purpoſe, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewiſe of the *Pale* with them.

Luke Nettervile and others of the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, gather Forces and quarter them within ſix miles of the City of *Dublin*.

And now it ſhall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their parts: About the beginning of *December*, preſently after the late defeat given to the *Engliſh* ſouldiers in their march to *Tredagh*, *Luke Nettervile* ſecond Son to the Lord Viſcount *Nettervile*, cauſed a Proclamation to be made in the Market place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death, preſently to repair unto *Swoords*, a Town within ſix miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few days after, did meet there the ſaid *Luke Nettervile*, *George Blackney* Eſq; *George King*, *Joh. Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Ruſſel*, *Chriſtopher Ruſſel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barnwell*, *Laurence Bealing*, *Holywood* of *Artaine*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen who began to gather great numbers of men about them, & putting ſuch Arms into their hands as they had in readineſs, at the preſent made their proviſions to entertain a ſettled Camp within that place. The Lords underſtanding of this unlawful tumultuous Aſſembly, and deeply apprehending the miſchievous conſequences that might enſue thereupon, ſent this Warrant following in a fair requiring thereby their preſent repair unto them.

The Gentlemen of the *Pale* required by the Lords Juſtices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parſons. Jo. Burlace.

WHereas we have received information, that Luke Nettervile *Eſquire,* Blackney *of* Rickenhore *Eſquire, and* George King *of* Clontarfe *Gentleman; and other Gentlemen of the County of* Dublin, *with great numbers of men are aſſembled together in a body at* Swoords *and there abouts, within ſix miles of this City, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terrour of his Majeſties good Subjects, and although, conſidering the unſeaſonablenes of this time choſen for ſuch an act without our privity (whatſoever their pretence is) a conſtruction might be made thereof to their diſadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions in regard of the good opinion we have of the Loyalty of thoſe Gentlemen who (it ſeems) are principals amongſt them in that Aſſembly, and conceiving there may be ſome miſtaking in that enterpriſe, we have choſen the rather hereby to charge the ſaid* Luke Nettervile, Blackney, King, *and all the perſons there Aſſembled with them, upon their duties of Allegiance to his Majeſty, immediately upon ſight hereof to ſeparate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: and that the ſaid* Nettervil, Blakney, King, *and ſix others of the principal perſons of thoſe who are ſo aſſembled at* Swoords *or thereabouts as aforeſaid, do appear before us to morrow morning at ten of the Clock, to ſhew the cauſe of their aſſembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extream perils. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin 9 December 1641.

Ormond Oſſory, Rob. Dillon,
Cha. Lambart, Jo. Temple,
Charles Coot.

But

But they were so far from rendring obedience to the commands they received from the Board, as they kept the Messenger in restraint a day and a night, threatning to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory Answer, signifying unto their Lordships, *That they were constrained to meet there together, for the safety of their lives, that they were put in so great a terrour by the rising out of some horse Troops and foot Companies at* Dublin, *who killed four Catholicks for no other reason, than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the safety of their lives before they run the hasard thereof, by manifesting their obedience due unto their Lordships.* These were the very words and expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer: And accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of men and threatning to come down and encamp themselves at *Clantarfe*, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of *Dublin*; where some of their followers had already at a low water seised upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling house of the said *King*, to whom that Village did belong. This was an act of so high a strain, and so eminently tending to the present ruine of the City, as it required a sudden remedy; Delayes were dangerous in a matter of such perilous consequence; and the Lords Justices and Council, plainly perceived that if the *Rebels* were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themselves masters of those few Barks then in the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair way if they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to joyn with them to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their relief all such succours as should be designed in *England* to Land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the said *King* continued still with *Luke Nettervile* and those other Gentlemen at *Swoords*, that they carried themselves with such high contumacy, as that disdaining to render any obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take some other course with them; And therefore about four days after, the day first set down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after, another Proclamation published for their immediate separation, the Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of his Majesties forces in *Ireland*.

The *Answer* made by the *Pale*, to the Lords Warrant.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parſons. *Jo. Burlace.*

A Warrant from the Lords Juſtices and Council for the ſuppreſſing of the *Rebels* of the *Pale.*

FOraſmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of Clantarſe, Raheny *and* Kilbarrock, *have declared themſelves Rebels, and having robbed and ſpoiled ſome of his Majeſties good Subjects, are now aſſembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, muſtering and training of their Rebellious multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his Majeſties good ſubjects, as well at Land as at Sea, which their boldneſs is acted in ſuch manner as to put ſcorns and affronts upon this State and Government, they acting ſuch depredations even before our faces and in our own view as it were in deſpight of us: It is therefore ordered, that our very good Lord the Earl of* Ormond *and* Oſſory *Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith ſend out a party of Souldiers of horſe and foot, to fall upon thoſe* Rebels *at* Clantarſe *and thereabouts, who in ſuch diſdainful manner, ſtand to out-face and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for punishment as terrour to others, and to burn and ſpoile the* Rebels *houſes and goods: And to prevent their further annoying of the ſhipping, going out and coming in and lying in harbour; thoſe Souldiers are to bring up or cauſe to be brought up to the new* Crane *at* Dublin, *ſuch of the Boats and Veſſels now lying there as they can upon the ſudden, and to burn, ſpoile and ſink and make unſerviceable the reſt. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin. December 14. 1641.

Ormond Oſſory, Rob. Dillon.
Cha. Lambart, Ad. Loftus,
Jo. Temple, Cha. Coote,
Fran. Willoughby.

Accord-

According to their Lordships directions, the Earle of *Ormond* gave preſent order to Sir *Charles Coot* to march out privately with ſome Forces unto *Clantarfe*, which he did without any noiſe, and meeting there with no oppoſition, he only ſuffered his men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt ſome part, as alſo part of Mr. *Kings* houſe, in which much of the goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before mentioned: And this was the firſt expedition that the Forces newly raiſed in *Dublin*, made after the defeat of the 600. men in their paſſage to *Tredagh*: As for the Maſſacre at *Santry* mentioned in the Anſwer from the Lords of the *Pale*, and obtruded to the World, as a juſt pretence to deterr them from waiting on the Lords at *Dublin*, it was no other than this: Information was given to ſome of the Officers of the Army, that there had been a robbery newly committed by certain *Rebels* at the houſe of one *Smith* called the *Buskin*, within five miles of the City: And that if a Party of Souldiers might be ſent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon thoſe *Rebels*, as alſo upon other *Rebels*, who had lately murdered one Mr. *Derick Hubert* a *Dutch* Merchant at the *Skerries*; whereupon two Officers with 40. foot were ſent out with direction to fall upon thoſe *Rebels*: They went directly to *Santry*, and there finding ſome ſtrangers with weapons lodged in ſuſpicious places, they ſlew four of them who as was conceived were criminal Offendours, and one of them after upon further enquiry found to be a Proteſtant.

Sir *Charles Coot* Marches out with ſome Forces to *Clantarfe*.

The true Relation of the pretented Maſſacre at *Santry*.

But how fairly ſoever this matter was carried, yet they reſolved to make uſe of it for the preſent, by way of juſtification of their diſloyalty: And having ſo far publickly declared themſelves, they held it not fit to ſit idle any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the *Pale* into a poſture of Warr, and to make all ſuch preparatives as might enable them by the powerful aſſiſtance they had out of the North, preſently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to march up to *Dublin*, and there make themſelves Maſters of that City and Caſtle: A work as now it ſtood repreſented unto them not likely to prove leſs glorious than ſucceſsful, and eaſie to be atchieved: They had for this end many publick meetings among themſelves, as alſo with the chief Commanders of the Northern *Rebels*.

The proceedings held by the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, after they had joyned with the Northern *Rebels*.

In the firſt place, they declared the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſtone* General of the Forces to be raiſed in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birne* Lieutenant General, the Earle of *Fingale* General of the horſe: Then they gave power to thoſe Lords to nominate Captains in ſeveral Baronies to be reſpectively appointed out of them, and likewiſe to raiſe Souldiers in every ſuch Barony, *viz.* eight Souldiers out of a Plowland-land (which contains according to the ancient eſtimation 120. Acres) and every Plow-land to maintain the Souldiers to be ſet out by them: The Ba-

rony of *Duleek* was assigned to the Lord of *Gormanston*, the Barony of *Screene* and *Desse* to the Earle of *Fingale*, the Barony of *Slaine* to the Lord of *Slaine*, the Barony of the *Navan* to the Lord of *Trimblestone*, *Kells* to the Lord *Dunsany*, *Ratogh* and *Dunboine* to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickestown* Baronite, and *Patrick Barnwell* of *Cilbrew*; and by these persons, several Captains were appointed, and numbers of Souldiers raised according to the orders set down at the General meeting: There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanston*, whereby those persons appointed to raise the men, and to furnish them with provisions for their entertainment, were required upon pain of death to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other persons who were appointed Overseers for the threshing out of all the Protestants corn, which was assigned generally through the *Pale* to be applyed towards the maintenance of their Army. The next work was to make a constant provision of all manner of necessaries for the entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the *Pale*, and set down at the siege of *Tredagh*. And for this service they sessed the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of corn and numbers of Cattle should be brought down out of every part for the victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company consisting of a hundred men, for their daily allowance, one biese, and half a barrel of corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country people to furnish their Army with these proportions; they made not only prohibitions that no corn should be carried to *Dublin*, but so blocked up the ways as the poor churles that lived somewhat distant from the City, could not carry their corn thither without apparent danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great want and scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of people come from several parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for safety. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamations to be published, That all such as had corn remaining within some few miles distance, should as their usual manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready mony for the same in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their corn as it stood in the haggards, and so prevent the use the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well supplied all that winter with corn, the Country people though otherways very malicious against the *English* & Protestants, being content though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their corn, where they sold it at a good rate for ready mony, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanston* for the use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But

But while they continue their fruitleſs and unprofitable attempts there, having neither skill, courage, experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous deſires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I ſhall briefly repreſent a view of the ſad eſtate of our affairs in *Dublin:* It was now almoſt full two Months ſince the breaking out of this Rebellion; The Lords Juſtices and Council out of their deep apprehenſions of a general revolt of all the *Irish* through the Kingdom, did in the very beginning with much earneſtneſs ſollicite the preſent ſending over of Succours out of *England:* And as ſoon as they began to make a little further diſcovery into the ſtrength of this Conſpiracy, and found their own wants and utter diſabilities to make any long or conſiderable oppoſition againſt the univerſal power of the whole body of the *Irish*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almoſt all the *Old English* that were of the *Romish* Profeſſion incorporated into their party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earneſtneſs by their frequent Letters and ſeveral Agents, repreſent unto His Majeſty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill even deſperate condition they were in; and therefore deſired that ſupplies both of men, mony and all kind of warlike proviſions, might be ſent away with all ſpeed into them, declaring that unleſs they received them preſently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to ſubſiſt as they ſtood now environed on all ſides with multitudes of the *Rebels*, but had juſt reaſon to apprehend their own preſent ruin, and the inevitable loſs of the whole Kingdom: And becauſe they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be ſo ſuddenly made, nor the men ſo eaſily tranſported from thence into the North of *Ireland* (where the *Rebels* appeared in greateſt numbers, and had by their moſt unparalle'd cruelty towards the *English* done moſt miſchief) as out of *Scotland*: They made a propoſition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move both His Majeſty and the Parliament, that 10000 *Scots* might be preſently raiſed and ſent over into thoſe Parts. This they preſſed with much earneſtneſs, repreſenting the very great terrour the meer *Irish* had of that Nation, that their bodies would better ſort with that Climate, endure more hardſhip, and with leſs diſtemper undergo the toil and miſeries of an *Irish* war, that the tranſportation would be made with much more facility and leſs charge, it being not above three or four hours ſail from ſome parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and ſo had all proviſions neceſſary for the furniſhing of their men for this expedition in readineſs: And laſtly, they having ſo good a foundation in the multitude of their own Countrymen ſo advantageouſly ſettled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorouſly proſecute the war with ſuch ſharpneſs, as might teſtifie their deep reſentment of the horrid cruelties exerciſed upon ſo many thouſands of their own Nation by that barbarous people.

The ſad condition of the publick affairs of the State.

The ſending of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland* preſſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

Commissioners sent out of *Scotland* to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the relief of *Ireland.*

These Letters arrived very opportunely about the time of the Kings return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then sitting at *West-minster:* And there being even then two *Scotish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the relief of *Ireland.* His Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal desired, that certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to Treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to His Majesty and both Houses. This motion was with very great readiness yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the Earle of *Beaford*, the Earle of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard* of *Estric*; nominated by the House of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fiennes* Esquire, Sir *William Ermin* Baronite, Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, *John Hampden* Esquire, nominated by the House of Commons, should Treat with the *Scotish* Commissioners concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propositions presented to the Parliament of *England* for the relief of *Ireland.*

In the propositions given in by the *Scotish* Commissioners, they did in the first place make offer of 10000 men in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland:* And that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an advance of 30000. l. of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they sent into *Ireland*, might in the same proportion be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired that some ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waft over their Souldiers which they designed to transport in small vessels.

And then that upon landing of their men in *Ireland*, there should be a 100 horse ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they should send thither: And that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the *Scotish* General.

These propositions being taken into consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high necessities of this Kingdom, that the *Scots* had 2500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving *Ireland*, as by sending these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them, and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the sudden relief of *Ireland*, and it was now generally believed, that considerable Forces would be transported within

within a very short time out of *Scotland* for the defence of the Northern parts of this Kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness his Majesty in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14 of *December*, in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

The Forces designed for *Ireland* retarded.

But alas these great expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland* strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of the *Irish* affairs.

For first, his Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for pressing Souldiers for *Ireland* depending in the House of Peers, and declaring his dislike of putting it in that way, told them he would pass it so there were a *salvo jure* put into it both for the King and people, but withall, told them that he thought himself little beholding unto him whosoever it was, that began this dispute so far trenching upon the bounds of his ancient and undoubted prerogative.

These passages in his Majesties Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords, who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons: And therefore his Majesty had no sooner ended his Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into consideration of the same, and resolved that the King by taking notice of the debate in their House of the Bill, concerning pressing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledges of Parliament. And presently a Message was brought unto them, likewise by Mr. *Hellis* from the House of Commons, to desire a conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Priviledges of Parliament: At the conference they fully expressed the deep sense they had of the high injury offered unto them, by his Majesty in invading their Priviledges, and proceeded so far as to come not only to Petition his Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that person who had given him information so unduly of what had passed in their House: but also, to make a Protestation concerning their Priviledges: This took up some time, and the great misunderstanding even which then began to appear betwixt his Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an influence into the business of *Ireland*, as notwithstanding the high necessities of this Kingdom, and the great affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden relief here, the resolutions were slow, and the preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the defence of the Castle and

City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near approach of the *Rebels*.

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several obstructions likewise. For first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there to Treat for the sending over a lesser number than 10000 men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this obstacle was soon removed by the zealous affections of the House of Commons, who as soon as the Propositions brought in by the *Scotish* Commissioners for the relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their assent to Treat for the sending of the number of 10000 men out of *Scotland*, according to the instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom, and sent up a Message to the House of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, to lay before their Lordships, the miserable estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know that the House of Commons conceived the best way for the preservation of it out of the hands of the *Rebels*, was speedily to to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*, and therefore desired that they would joyn with them in the Propositions received from the *Scottish* Commissioners.

The debate of the propositions presented by the *Scotish* Commissioners in the House of Peers.

Upon the receit of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed that 10000 *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend that at the same time there might 10000 *English* men be as speedily sent likewise thither, and thereupon desired a conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully understand their resolution therein, which being yielded unto by the House of Commons, The Lords at the conference pressed with much earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of 10000 *English* at the same time that the *Scots* were to be sent away: whereunto the House of Commons replyed, that they were not to be capitulated withall, that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations, that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their resolution to send that number of *English* into *Ireland*, and therefore desired that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of 10000 *Scots* by it self without any relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the House of Peers, and was one main cause of the slow proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scotish* Commissioners. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a distance from whence these obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret workings underhand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very much retarded thereby,

thereby, and was not brought on to any concluſion in many Months after. So as in the mean time, all the *Britiſh* planted troughout this Kingdom, were deſpoiled, driven out of their habitations, or moſt cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the *Iriſh* ſtrengthned themſelves in all parts of the Country and prevailing every where, drew many to joyn with them, that had hitherto kept themſelves in a kind of Neutrality, as ſuppoſing that the State here would be altogether deſerted, and no Forces at all ſent out of *England* for the ſuppreſſing of the *Iriſh* as had taken up Armes in this quarrel.

The revolt of the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter.*

The whole Province of *Munſter* about the midſt of this Month of *December*, began to declare themſelves in open Rebellion. The Lord Preſident there, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs their very beginnings, but by reaſon of his want of ſtrength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all diligence and carefulneſs labour to prevent the joyning together of any numbers of the *Iriſh* in any of thoſe parts: And when he underſtood how they began in ſome places of the Province to deſpoile the *Engliſh*, and that they had near *Waterford* gotten away many of the *Engliſh* mens Cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his government, he thought it not fit longer to ſit ſtill, but gallantly purſued thoſe *Rebels* in his own perſon, being accompanied only with his own Troop of horſe, and ſome few Gentlemen of the Country, who joyned with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares, ſlew 200 of thoſe *Rebels*, reſtored the cattle to the *Engliſh* that were owners of them, and took ſeveral priſoners whom he hanged for a grea er terrour to all ſuch as ſhould adventure afterwards to follow their example: As ſoon as he had done this ſervice, his Lordship retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor means to make any further proſecution: which the *Iriſh* well enough underſtood, and therefore drew together in ſeveral places of that Province, and though they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulſter*, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or preſently murder all the *Engliſh* among them: yet many horrid murders they committed, uſed ſeveral kinds of cruelty to many particular perſons, and for all the reſt that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, moſt miſerably ſtripped them out of their cloaths and leaving them quite naked, ſuffered moſt of them in that lamentable poſture to paſs to *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kinſale* and other Ports there to embark their miſerable Carkaſſes for *England* where few arrived ſafely, and I am ſure I may well ſay few, in reſpect of thoſe multitudes who periſhed through want, cold and famine, before they could get to thoſe Towns, or otherwayes dyed after their arrival in them, or were by ſtorms at Sea caſt away. And for the *Engliſh* who ſtood upon their guard and immured themſelves up in ſeveral Caſtles of good ſtrength in thoſe Parts, they endured many

The miſery ſuffered by the *Engliſh* in *Munſter.*

Months

Months ſiege, ſuffered much want and miſery, and having bravely reſiſted all the aſſaults and attempts that the *Irish* made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places cauſed them to raiſe their ſieges with great loſs and ſlaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themſelves without all hope or poſſibility of relief, enforced to deliver thoſe places together with the multitudes of *English* they had received, into the hands of the *Rebels*, upon fair quarter ſolemnly promiſed by them: And in many places no ſooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they moſt perfidiouſly broke the quarter given, deſpoiled them of that little remainder of their ſubſtance they had then left, and ſent them away in great want and miſery to find relief among other *English* Garriſons. But the whole Country being waſted and deſtroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them, deſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, beſides pitty and compaſſion which could not ſupport or keep alive thoſe languiſhing gaſtly Creatures, ſo as multitudes dyed, ſome in ditches, ſome travelling on the high-wayes, ſome under hedges, and ſo left their Carkaſſes as fearful ſpectacles to the beholders, and ſad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exerciſed on them by thoſe bloudy *Rebels*, who yet under pretence of mercy ſpared their lives, but took up a reſolution as they were not aſhamed to declare, to put them to a more lingring death, and therefore left them in ſuch a condition as inevitably brought on their miſerable ends with much more diſcomfort and ſorrow.

But this ſhall ſuffice to ſhew the beginning of the riſing of the *Irish* in *Munſter*; the particulars whereof ſhall be clearly and at large ſet down in the following Relations of their firſt proceedings within that Province, where it ſhall be declared likewiſe, how all the great Town in *Lemſter*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the ſame time begin to ſtrip and expel all the *British* and Proteſtants, that either inhabited in them or fled out of the Country near about to ſhelter themſelves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their *Irish* neighbours.

Dublin diſtreſſed. As for the City of *Dublin* it began now to be much more ſtraitly encompaſſed by the Forces of the *Rebels*, much encreaſed through their late conjunction with the *English Pale*. And in caſe of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches ſo near and having ſo abſolutely ſtopped up all the avenues, as we had great reaſon to apprehend their keeping back of proviſions would drive the City into high neceſſities, and quickly occaſion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continually ſent up unto the Lords Juſtices and Council, while they remained in this poſture, out of ſeveral Parts of the Country, where

where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of their habitations, had for their preſent ſafeguard put themſelves into Houſes or Caſtles of ſome ſtrength; they there enduring much want and miſery, made ſhift though not without great difficulty by ſeveral Meſſages and Letters to make known their condition to the State, as alſo that they were reſolved as many of them did, to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of ſuccours from them.

But Alas all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiſeration of their ſorrowful condition would adminiſter; they were themſelves reduced ſo low, as with the greateſt power they could raiſe, they durſt not adventure to ſend any ways five miles out of the City, their ſupplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raiſe men, but only within the virge of the City, and ſuch as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Irish*, whereof many ran preſently away with their Arms to the *Rebels*, or poor ſtripped *English* and Inhabitants of this City who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exerciſed and trained to the uſe of their Arms, proved very good Souldiers; yet for the preſent they were very unfit for ſervice: As appeared in that little expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his men to *Finglas*, a little Town two miles diſtant from the City at the ſame time, when Sir *Charles Coot* marched forth to beat *Luke Netterville* with his undiſciplined Regiment out of his quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming ſaved him the labour, for he preſently upon the rumour thereof, diſlodged and fled in ſo much haſte, as he left ſome of his beſt equipage and all his proviſions behind him: But that Party of *Rebels* Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themſelves with good advantage behind great ditches, ſtood better to their work, and carried themſelves ſo ſtoutly, as our new raiſed men began to ſhrink, and had not the Colonel and ſome other of his Officers behaved themſelves very well that day, their men had made a moſt dangerous and ſhameful retreat. This was the greateſt expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time, which no man will wonder at, if he doth conſider as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner ſurrounded on every ſide by ſeveral Parties of the *Rebels* gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all proviſions brought out of the Country for the ſupply of it intercepted, as alſo, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had tranſported themſelves, their goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papiſts had upon other reaſons retired themſelves, and what belonged unto them into the Country, and there taken up their habitations within the *Rebels* quarters; no manner of intercourſe with any perſons whatſoever that made their abode without the diſtance of two miles from any

Some Forces ſent out to encounter the *Rebels*, who lodged within three miles of *Dublin*.

Dublin ſurrounded on every ſide by the *Rebels*.

part of the City, no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the *Rebels*, all courſes taken for it diſappointed, ſeveral Meſſengers hanged up; and yet on the other ſide, all our deſigns diſcloſed, our weakneſs diſcovered, and the moſt private reſolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The Parties of the *Rebels* that lay near about the City, were theſe following; *Luke Netterville* being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near 2000. men at *Swoords*, a Town ſix miles diſtant, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle of *Artaine*, and ſome other places within two miles of the City: On the Weſt-ſide of the City at *Taſſagard Rath-coole*, *Caſtle Lyons*, and other little Villages within the compaſs of ſix miles, there lay 2000. more of the *Rebels* who were come down out of the Counties of *Carterlagh*, *Kings County*, *Kildare*, and other Parts under the command of *Roger Moore*, and *Sutton*, *Euſtace* of *Caſtle-Martin*, and others. The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles* were alſo come down in great numbers out of the County of *Wiclow*, and had lodged themſelves in ſome Caſtles towards the Sea-ſide, and in ſome Villages at the foot of the Mountain, not above three or four miles diſtant from the Town on the South ſide: How deſperately theſe Forces threatned our ruine and ſudden deſtruction will appear by this enſuing Letter bearing date about the midſt of *December*, written from the Lords Juſtices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his diſpatch.

A LETTER from the Lords Juſtices and Council, to the Lord LIEUTENANT.

May it pleaſe your Lordships,

BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your Lordſhip, that M. *Hawtrige* was then newly arrived with the Treaſure ſent us from thence, which came but ſixteen thouſand five hundred fourſcore and ten pounds, toa ſupply of Treaſure far ſhort of that which is now become neceſſary to perform any conſiderable ſervice here againſt the *Rebels*, whoſe numbers are increaſed wonderfully, inſomuch as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all ſides it, and between *Drogheda* and this place, reaching even within four miles of this City, are upon very credible report, conceived to be above twenty thouſand men, and beſides thoſe

thoſe numbers who are ſo united between this and *Drogheda* and thereabouts, there are many thouſands of them diſperſed the whole Kingdom over, for the meaner ſort of people firſt riſe generally; and then thoſe of better quality follow after; and the fire which was firſt kindled in *Ulſter*, and lay a while ſmothered in other parts begins now to break out ſo generally, as the defection now appears to be univerſal throughout the whole four Provinces; ſo ſtrangely rooted was the combination, and that ſtrengthned under the ſpecious ſhew of a Warr for Religion; for although before and ſince the Caution we had from your Lordſhip, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any apprehenſion to the *Iriſh*, that *England* doth intend to make it a Warr of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordſhip, the *Rebels* labour mainly to have it ſo underſtood. Nay, they now go ſo far as they call themſelves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many thouſands to their party, and yet many joyned with them for no other reaſon than becauſe they ſaw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred, they rightly judging, that without thoſe Succours, we are not able to defend them our ſelves, and indeed until thoſe Succours come, they muſt and will ſtill encreaſe; but if our men and arms were once arrived, the very countenance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give ſome ſtop to the fury, with which they yet carry all before them whither ſoever they come.

They continue their rage and malignity againſt the *Engliſh* & Proteſtants: who if they leave their goods or cattle for more ſafety with any Papiſts, thoſe are called out by the *Rebels*, and the Papiſts goods and cattle left behind; and now upon ſome new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a further degree of cruelty, even of the higheſt nature, which is to Proclaime, That if any *Iriſh* ſhall harbour or relieve any *Engliſh*, that be ſuffered to eſcape them with his life, that it ſhall be penal even to death to ſuch *Iriſh*; and ſo

they will be ſure though they put not thoſe *English* actually to the ſword, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the ſword; and they profeſs they will never give over until they leave not any ſeed of an *English-man* in *Ireland.*

Nor is their malice towards the *English* expreſſed only ſo, but further even to the beaſts of their fields, and improvements of their hands, for they deſtroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their reaſon is, becauſe they are *English*; ſo great is their hatred, not only to the perſons of the *English*, but alſo to every ſpecies of that Nation, and they deſtroy all improvements made by the *English*, and lay waſte their habitations.

We formerly ſignified to your Lordſhip, that to take away all jealouſie from the Papiſts of the *English Pale*, we would furniſh them with ſome Armes, and the rather becauſe we well know that in the laſt great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the *English Pale* ſtood firm to the Crown of *England*; and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the height of his power and greatneſs, was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whileſt he was in Rebellion; and upon this occaſion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep profeſſions of their Loyalty to his Majeſty, in imitation of their Anceſtors, and with expreſſions ſeeming to abhorr the Contrivers of this Rebellion here againſt whom they offered their power and ſtrength, ſo as they might have Armes; and we being well aſſured, that if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our work; we did at their earneſt ſuit iſſue for them Armes for one thouſand ſeven hundred men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and ſome of themſelves were appointed Governours of the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies: but ſo many of thoſe Companies revolted to the *Rebels*, and carryed away their Armes with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty Armes; ſo as thoſe whoſe loyalty we had reaſon to expect

pect would help us, are now through their disloyalty turned against us, and are strengthned with our own Armes; and without all question, if those of the *English Pale* had done their parts as became good subjects with their Armes they had from us, and those they might gather amongst themselves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* against the *Rebels*, but might also have prevented the ruine and destruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *English* and Protestants amongst them; for the Noblemen and Gentry sate still and looked on, whilest the *English* and Protestants were ruined before their faces; the Papists in the mean time remaining secure without the loss of goods, or any thing else.

When we saw the power and strength of the *Rebels* still growing upon us more & more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the *English* and Protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this City, in disdain and affront of this State, which are scornes of so high a nature as we could not endure, if we had strength sufficient to repress their insolencies; and when we observed the retarding of our Succours of men and armes from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard so much as in view there or in *Scotland*, and when we found apparently that for want of those supplies, we became in a manner so contemptible, as we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this City and Castle before our aides should come, we bethought us of all the means we could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the State of *England*, but that some supplies may yet come unto us: And therefore on the third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were neareſt to us, and most of them being of the *English Pale*, to be with us here on the eighth day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the Kingdom, and we hoped by their help, to handle the matter so as we might gain a few days

time before our ſurpriſal here, by which time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the *Rebels*, that we ſhall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and to ſtrike terrour and diſcouragement into the well-affected, amongſt whom there are many ſo weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom

On the eighth day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viſcount *Fitz Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Howth* came unto us, but the reſt of the Noblemen not coming deferred our conference, and on the eleventh day of this Month we received Letters from ſeven of them, namely, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, the Lord Viſcount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimbleſtone*, *Dunſany* and *Lowth*, dated the ſeventh day of this Month, and ſigned by them, pretending a fear of a Maſſacre on thoſe of their Religion, and that therefore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon their guard, and how that reſolution of theirs may ſtand with the loyalty they profeſs, we humbly ſubmit to his Majeſties excellent judgement, for whoſe royal view we ſend you here incloſed, a Copy of their ſaid Letters.

When we received thoſe Letters, we did admire whence their fears of coming to us ſhould ariſe, but afterwards we heard that they had been in conſultation with the *Rebels*, which alſo as to moſt of them is confirmed by the encloſed Examination of *Chriſtopher Hampton*, and indeed we know no cauſe of fear they have of us, unleſs their own guilts begot in them the fear they pretend; and they ſpare not though unjuſtly to charge us with a neglect of their advices, whereas not one of them to this Houſe offered to us any advice or real aſſiſtance towards Pacification of theſe troubles.

It became then publick (nor could we keep ſecret that which they had publiſhed to others) that thoſe Noblemen ſo far ſided with the *Rebels* as they now ſtood on their guard; we there-

therefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the State from the aſperſion which we found ſo publickly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publiſh the encloſed Proclamation, as well to ſatisfie to the world as thoſe Noblemen, who certainly are abundantly ſatisfied in their own ſecret thoughts, that we never intended to Maſſacre them or any other; that being a thing which we and all good Proteſtants do much abhor, whatever the practice of their Religion is, and hath been found to be by woful experience in other parts, whereof we confeſs we are now in great danger, if our long expected Succours come not the ſooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the *Rebels* have already exerciſed towards thoſe of our Nation and Religion, who fell into their hands, what we for our parts may expect from them, but the diſhonour and ſhame which may reflect upon the *Engliſh* Nation by expoſing this State and Kingdom to ſo apparent ruine, and with it the extirpation of Gods true Religion, afflicts us more than the loſs of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be ſaved by ſending ſeaſonably thoſe Succours.

We lately received Letters from the Lady *Ofaly*, and a Letter containing moſt inſolent Menaces incloſed therein, ſent her from the *Rebels*, to which ſhe ſent them a noble Anſwer, Copies whereof we ſend here incloſed.

One of the *Rebels* ſtiling himſelf Chaplain Major and Overſeer of the Coaſts and Harbours, lately ſent a Summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was entruſted to keep the Iſland of *Lambay*, requiring the delivery up of that Iſland to the *Rebels*, which being done, he gave *Leech* a Paſs, wherein he ſtiles the *Revels* Forces the Catholick Army: A Copy of which Summons and Paſs we ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed; and *Leech* told us that that mighty Chaplain declared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this Rebellion, That he had ſpent in Travel and Proſecution of that deſign beyond Seas four thouſand pounds; and that all the Kings in Chriſtendom, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have hands in this buſineſs. A Caſtle

A Caſtle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *Engliſh*, who ſtood out awhile againſt the *Rebels*, being in the end through want of victuals neceſſitated to be rendred up to them upon promiſe of quarter, a Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding with his Skean in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a Miniſter then amongſt the *Engliſh*, did by thruſting that Skean into the Miniſters guts, and ripping up his belly, give that as a ſignal to the *Rebels*, for falling upon the reſt of the *Engliſh*, which they did accordingly, aſſoon as the Miniſter was murdered, killing ſome, and hanging the reſt moſt perfidiouſly.

On the ninth of this Month, we received advertiſement, that great numbers of men were gathered together in Warlike manner at *Swoords* in the County of *Dublin* within ſix miles of us, they having the Army of the *Rebels* behind them on this ſide *Drogheda*; whereupon we then immediately ſent out our Warrant, commanding them to diſperſe: A Copy whereof we ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed, which was not obeyed: but a Letter ſent us from *Luke Nettervile* Son to the Lord Viſcount *Nettervile* and others of them: A Copy whereof we likewiſe ſend here incloſed; whereupon we publiſhed the incloſed Manifeſt, for vindicating this State from their aſperſions alſo: And it is obſervable, that thoſe Gentlemen at *Swoords* could even on that very Tueſday night, wherein they alledge they were ſo affrighted at their Houſes, aſſemble twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in readineſs againſt any attempt from the State, whereas for many days before, they could ſit ſtill and look on, whilſt an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whileſt ſome of them openly declared *Rebels*, and many of their neighbours, who doubtleſs hold under-hand intelligence with the *Rebels*, robbed and ſpoiled the *Engliſh* on all parts round about them; and yet thoſe Gentlemen could not in all that time be either ſo affrighted by the *Rebels*, or ſo compaſſionate of their poor *Engliſh* neighbours, as to aſſemble any men for the defence of themſelves, or thoſe their poor *Engliſh* neigh-

neighbours; and certainly those Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State who have always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the Forces of the *Rebels* which lie so near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of His Majesties good and innocent Subjects, and for ought they know (if there were not secret intelligence between them) might have used them also in like manner.

But the truth is, we conceive those Gentlemen had a mind to joyn with the *Rebels*, and do now take up pretences to cover their disloyalty, and cast scandal on this Government.

The *Rebels* in the *Pale* as in other parts, have caused Masses to be said openly in the Churches, expelled the Ministers from Officiating in their Churches, and forced divers persons for saving their lives and goods to become Papists, openly professing that no Protestant shall be suffered to live in *Ireland*, and whilst they insult thus over all the *English* and Protestants, destroying them for no other reason, but for that they are Protestants and *English*, we let fall nothing against them touching Religion, and yet they feign things against us, tending that way to give some colour to their cruel proceedings.

The *Rebels* of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare* in the County of *Kildare*. The *Rebels* of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, and *Ashboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other places; The *Rebels* of the County of *Dublin*, have possessed *Swoords* and *Rathcoole*, and spoyled all the *English* and Protestants even to the Gates of *Dublin*, and now about fifteen hundred of the Rebels of *Wiclow* are in and about *Powerscait*, and about ten miles from this City; There are also between this and the *Naas* within six or seven miles of us a thousand of the Rebels of *Kildare*, and the Borders of *Wiclow* and *Dublin*, so as we are in this City invironed by them on all sides by Land, and they begin to stop acceses to us by Sea; for the Fishermen on the Sea-Coasts being all *Irish* and Papists Inhabitants in the *Pale*, brake out also into Rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoyled and pillaged even with-

in the Bay of *Dublin* ſeveral Barks coming hither forth of *England.* And if to revenge this villany on the Fiſhermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, ſo near us, we ſend forth a Party of Souldiers to burn and ſpoyl thoſe Rebels houſes and corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take new offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no dalliance with them, who ſo far declare themſelves againſt the State, not caring what ſcorns are put upon the Government, wherein is obſervable, that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of thoſe Gentlemen riſen in Arms at *Swoords.*

Your Lordship now ſees not only the neceſſity of haſtening with all poſſible ſpeed our Succours of men and Arms both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater numbers than thoſe at firſt deſigned, ſeeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at firſt was conceived; and yet ſo as ſuch of them as are ready be not forced to ſtay for the reſt, but that thoſe may be ſo ordered as to come after, for no flesh can imagine, unleſs they ſaw it as we do, the greatneſs of our danger, who are but a handful in compariſon of the multitudes riſen againſt us: And we deſire that the ten thouſand deſigned to come from *Scotland*, may be wholly ſent away, as well the five thouſand intended to be left there in readineſs as the reſt, with direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and whereſoever they land to march to *Dublin* if poſſibly they can; And to ſend away with all ſpeed the Ships appointed for guarding theſe Coaſts, is alſo very neceſſary to be haſtned, and that two or three Ships of good ſtrength follow after: doubtleſs theſe *Rebels* expect a very great ſupply of Arms and Munition from forraign Parts, either *Spain* or *France*,

And although out of the fore-ſight we had of this extremity ſince theſe troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in ſome proviſions of victual and corn, yet we have not been able to provide our ſelves ſufficiently to ſtand out any long ſiege, nor can we now get inany more, our Markets being almoſt taken away, and the ſtrength of the *Rebels* ſurrounding us ſo as we can fetch

fetch in no more proviſions; wherefore we beſeech your Lordſhip that the Magazins of Victuals deſigned to be ſetled on that ſide, may be ſetled with all ſpeed, if it be not done already, whereby we and the Succours we expect, may not be in diſtreſs of Victuals for our ſelves or them, or oats for our horſes. Our want of Victuals is the more in reſpect of the daily acceſs of the *Engliſh* ſpoyled in the Country.

The neceſſity of the defence of the Province of *Munſter*, required the immediate raiſing of a Regiment of Foot conſiſting of one thouſand men, and two Troops of Horſe of threeſcore each Troop, which threeſcore we appointed the Lord Preſident to raiſe, and for the payment and arming of them, we humbly adviſe ſeeing we cannot do it, that money and arms be ſent from thence to *Toughall*, with a further ſupply of Arms and Munition for the ſtores in that Province now much wanting there.

And as the *Rebels* which have beſet us and this City on all ſides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already: ſo they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two cut off the watercourſe, which brings water to this City and Caſtle; and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs and beſiege our Walls, which we confeſs we yet want ſtrength to defend, and muſt want till our Supplies come forth of *England* or *Scotland* or both; for here we have but about three thouſand men, the reſt of the old Companies being diſperſed in ſeveral needful Garriſons in the Countrey (excepting ſeven Companies of them ſurpriſed, and cut off by the *Rebels* at their firſt riſing in *Ulſter* and other Parts) and about two hundred horſe by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Iriſh*: ſo as conſidering the ſpaciouſneſs of this City & Suburbs to be defended, the ſmallneſs of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of Papiſts Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and laſtly, the very great numbers of the *Rebels*, who are ſo ſtrong as to approach this City with many thouſands, and yet leave many

thouſands alſo at the ſiege of *Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any long time againſt them, without the arrival of our expected Succours.

The Earl of *Caſtle-haven* on the tenth of this Month, preſented at this Board the incloſed Oath tendered unto him by the *Rebels* to be ſworn by him, which he ſaith he refuſed to ſwear and we hear they ſend it to all Parts to be tendered to the people, preſſing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

We did lately in hope to gain ſome time until our ſupplies might come, liſten to an offer made by ſome Popiſh Prieſts to go to the *Rebels* and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the incloſed: But ſince we find there is little hope of it; for ſome of the Prieſts are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit yout Lordship should know what we do; we muſt now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that things being riſen here to this height, threatning not only the shaking of the Government, but the loſs of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of men, Arms and more Treaſure, are of great neceſſity to be haſtned away hither; ſo is it alſo needful that we enjoy your Lordships preſence here, for the conduct in your own perſon of the great and important affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do neceſſarily require it in this time of great imminent danger wherein ſo far as we may be able to contribute any aſſiſtance with you, we ſhall be ready to diſcharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightneſs of heart which we owe to his Majeſty, and the particular reſpect due from us to your Lordship; but we hope you will bring that ſtrength with you, which may befit the greatneſs of the King our Maſter to ſend with his Lieutenant againſt ſo numerous enemies as theſe *Rebels* are become, as well for the honour of his Majeſty, as for the terrour of thoſe *Rebels*.

By what we have heretofore and now humbly repreſented to your Lordship, you may in part ſee the greatneſs of the publick danger wherein this Kingdom now ſtands, and particularly this City and Caſtle, the principal place thereof, that if thoſe be

loſt

loſt (which we now again aſſure your Lordship, were never in ſo great peril to be loſt ſince the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole Kingdom muſt quickly follow, that the danger which muſt thereupon ariſe to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many reſpects. There is no poſſibility to prevent thoſe evils with honour and ſafety to *England* but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both, and that if thoſe Succours come not ſpeedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom muſt be loſt. And if notwithſtanding all this ſo often and truly made known by us to your Lordship, we ſhall perish for want of Supplies, we ſhall carry this comfort with us to our graves or any other burial we ſhall have, that your Lordship can witneſs for us to the Royal Majeſty and to all the world that we have diſcharged our duties to God, to his Majeſty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty by your Lordship, the chief Governour of the Kingdom, the extremities and dangers wherein his Kingdom and people ſtand, and the neceſſity of haſtning Supplies hither, by all poſſible means for preſervation of both, ſo as whatever become of our perſons, our memory cannot be juſtly ſtained with ſo wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the King our Maſter, as to forbear repreſenting thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have the credit to be believed or no; and that we write truth, and moſt needful truth, will be found true, when perhaps we ſhall perish, and which is more conſiderable, the Kingdom alſo for want of being believed and ſuccoured in time. And ſo we remain

Your Lordships to be commanded,

William Parſons. Jo. Burlace.

Ormond Oſſory. R. Dillon. Char. Lambart.
Ad. Loftus. John Temple. Charles Coot.
Francis Willoughby. R. Meredith.

From his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*,
14 *December* 1641.

Postscript.

BY Your Letters to your Lordship of the 22 *of* November, *We did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once Prorogued, may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they sit, or whether it be of necessity that they must sit again, and the Parliament to be Prorogued the House sitting. And now that this Rebellion hath over-spread the whole Kingdom, and that many members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot sit. We humbly desire to know his Majesties pleasure therein, and if his Majesty shall think fit to Prorogue it, which in present we held expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for Prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time cannot be with safety.*

Our Letters of the third of December, *have been hitherto with-held on this side by contrary winds.*

In this most miserable condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, strugling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their care, travel and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might asswage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cryes daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplyed as they were enforced to spend their time almost in a perpetual consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the night by sudden advertisements, alwayes in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatned on every side, so as what through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the ruine and destruction of all the Brittish and Protestants throughout all other parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away by special Order of Parliament with his Regiment for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last of *December*, 1641. to the great joy and comfort of all his Majesties Protestants, and well affected Subjects, and to the terrour of those *Rebels* now in Armes, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the suppressing of their notorious Rebellion.

The arrival of Sir *Simon Harcourt* with Forces out of *England*.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four Months, and then to have added a brief account of all such particular passages as have been acted during the space of those six Months within all the several Counties of this Kingdom, and

and ſo having recollected and preſented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miſerable deſolations of all the four Provinces there, to have ſatdown and made the firſt period of this Story.

But I muſt here take up being unexpectedly called away; I reſolve therefore patiently to attend the reſtoring of this Kingdom and the reſettlement of our affairs, and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by ſome more skilful hand, I ſhall hope to get the reſt of my tailing together, and make ſuch further proviſion of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the ſame.

In the mean time it will not be amiſs to take notice, that the *Rebels* within very few Months after their firſt breaking out, had ſo ordered their affairs, as that by their ſudden ſurpriſes, their ſharp and bloudy executions, their barbarous ſtripping, and deſpoiling of all ſorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the Inland Counties of all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants: And except ſome few Caſtles and other places of ſtrength which they held ſeverally beſieged, and had moſt of them ſuddenly after ſurrendred for want of relief, they had in a manner made themſelves abſolute Maſters in all thoſe Parts of the Kingdom. And for the Maritime places, there were only ſome of the chief Cities which were held out againſt them, beſides ſome few other Forts and places of no great importance: As in the province of *Lemſter*, the City of *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munſter*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghall*, and *Kinſale*; in *Ulſter*, *London-Derry*, *Colraine* and *Careg fergus*: And all theſe they held either beſieged, much diſtreſſed, or they were otherways ſo overpeſtred with the multitudes of poor ſtripped people fled to them for ſafety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or ſickneſs would within a short time inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleaſed God to humble his own people in this Land, and for their ſins to give them up into the power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to ſacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their Victories: And upon the proſperity of their undertakings and late ſucceſs, they were become ſo confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the British and Proteſtants out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to ſet down a certain form of Government, nominated the perſons whom they intended to entruſt with the management of their affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what Statutes newly enacted: And in the mean time they erected a Council which they ſtiled the Supreme Council, which they inveſted with abſolute Power and Authority, to order and govern the whole Kingdom. This conſiſted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Phyſitian, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their reſidence appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Lemſter*, where they ſat ordinarily for the diſpatch of all the great and weighty affairs

affairs of their State: They there erected ſeveral Courts of Judicature, they made a new broad Seal, appointed ſeveral great officers of State, coyned mony, ſettled an exciſe upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering theſe their great affairs, what Councils they took, what means they uſed to enable themſelves to make oppoſition againſt the Forces ſent over by the Parliament of *England* into all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, I ſhall here forbear to ſpeak of. Theſe particulars muſt be reſerved for the enſuing part of this Story, where they will moſt properly fall in to be related: And where likewiſe, we ſhall find ſo ſtrange a turn, ſuch a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their Councils infatuated, their deſigns blaſted, their Forces routed, their ſieges raiſed, ſuch a general defaillance and inproſperity in all their undertakings, as we muſt needs give glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that God hath moſt wonderfully wrought for the deliverance of the poor ſmall remnant of his people, which were here shut up and deſigned to the ſlaughter.

For after a conſiderable number of Horſe as well as Foot ſent over by the Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in ſome petty encounters thereabouts tried the mettal of the *Rebels*, and found their ſpirit of a poor and baſe allay, they began extreamely to diſvalue them, and would be no longer abuſed with the fabulous reports of their great ſtrength or numbers which with much advantage they had long made uſe of: Therefore now they began to ſeek them out in all places, and whereſoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with ſmall numbers very often againſt great multitudes of them, ſparing not many times to purſue them into the midſt of their greateſt faſtneſſes, and made the very bogs and woods unſafe receptacles for their broken Troops. And with ſo great ſucceſs, was the war proſecuted by the *Engliſh* from the firſt landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty of that moſt unhappy Ceſſation concluded in *Sept.* 1643. as that in all the incounters they had with the *Rebels* during that time, they never received any ſcorn or defeats, but went on Victoriouſly, beating them down in all Parts of the Kingdom: And ſo they carried on their work before them without any aſſiſtance either from the meer *Iriſh* or the *Engliſh Iriſh*: For I can not my ſelf remember any Gentleman of quality throughout the whole Kingdom that was there born and bred up a Papiſt that put himſelf into that ſervice, or deſired to be liſted as a member of the *Engliſh* Army. It is true, ſome of the common Souldiers there, were of the *Engliſh Iriſh* that came in, and though they were not conſiderable for their number, yet they did good ſervice and ſtill with much fury and sharpneſs followed on upon the execution.

FINIS.